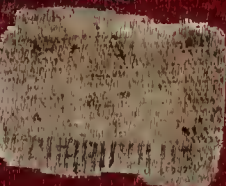


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SHOULD WE ENCOURAGE

THE DEVELOPMENT

OF WORLD GOVERNMENT?



GRADE 12

Global Perspectives

TOPIC B

Co-operation and Conflict Among Nations



Preface

When the task of revising Alberta's social studies programme drew to a close in Spring, 1978, the Social Studies Curriculum Co-ordinating Committee turned its attention to the question of how to demonstrate the intents of the revised curriculum in specific instructional terms. After considerable consultation with teachers, it was concluded that carefully designed teaching units focusing on curriculum topics would be of great help to social studies teachers seeking to implement the revised curriculum guidelines.

Specifically, the approach taken was that a number of experienced social studies teachers, consultants and University instructors were contracted by the Curriculum Branch of Alberta Education to develop inquiry units that fulfilled the following conditions:

- addressed specific value, knowledge and skill objectives for a prescribed curriculum topic;
- demonstrated the Alberta curriculum's "process of social inquiry";
- incorporated a wide range of teaching/learning strategies, including creative use of one or more prescribed learning resources;
- tested out successfully in a variety of classroom situations.

This teaching unit is not prescriptive. Rather it is intended to demonstrate one way that the rationale of the Alberta curriculum can be implemented and one way that the objectives for the curriculum topic can be attained. As you review the unit, try it out, and discuss it with colleagues. Keep in mind that it will serve its purpose if it helps you to become more creative in your teaching and more understanding of the goals of the Alberta curriculum.

Although the teaching units have been piloted, a more in-depth assessment can only be obtained from teachers and students during normal classroom usage. Therefore, the attached evaluation questionnaires located at the end of the teaching unit should be completed and sent to the Regional Office in your area. Thank you.

Frank Crowther
Project Director

Acknowledgements

A number of people contributed significantly to the development and production of this teaching unit. Alberta Education wishes to recognize in particular the contributions of the following people:

UNIT DEVELOPER	Victor A. Zelinski, Department of Curriculum and Instruction, University of Calgary
PILOT TEACHERS	Bruce King, Ross Sheppard Composite High School, Edmonton Public School District #7 William A. Mokoski, Forest Lawn High School, Calgary Public School District #19 Gid Vuch, Kate Andrew High School, County of Lethbridge School District #26
PROJECT DIRECTOR	Frank Crowther, Curriculum Branch, Alberta Education
PROJECT CO-ORDINATOR	Henry Toews, Calgary Regional Office, Alberta Education
DIVISION FOUR DEVELOPMENT CO-ORDINATOR	Frank Horvath, Red Deer Regional Office, Alberta Education
PRODUCTION CO-ORDINATOR	Terry Kernaghan, Audio Visual Services Branch, Alberta Education
SECRETARIAL SUPERVISOR	Florence Poelen, Curriculum Branch, Alberta Education
CURRICULUM VALIDATORS	Tony Burley, Red Deer Jim Brackenbury, Grande Prairie Max Van Manen, Edmonton Joan Mueller, Edmonton Leebert Redman, Grand Centre Shirley Stiles, Edmonton
CONTENT VALIDATOR	Bill Dever, Calgary
EDITOR	Dora Sklove, Edmonton
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Associate Director of Curriculum (Social Studies)
Curriculum Branch, Alberta Education
3rd Floor, Devonian Building, West Tower
11160 - Jasper Avenue
Edmonton, Alberta
T5K 0L2

Copyright Acknowledgements

Alberta Education wishes to thank the following authors and publishers for permission to include their materials in this teaching unit:

Alberta Disaster Services. Alberta Survival Plan: The Nuclear Threat to Alberta. Edmonton, Alberta: Alberta Government Publication.

Associated Press. "Boy shot escaping gas chamber".

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Calgary Herald.

"Albertan to be tried for war crimes" by Paul Jackson, Feb. 16, 1979;
Cartoon by Innes;
"Defence budgets slipping, says Ambassador", Aug. 14, 1973;
"Hiroshima group commemorates loss of 100,000" by Lois Ross, Aug. 9, 1978;
"Editorial - Remembrance Day", Nov. 11, 1978;
"What turns boys into vicious 'goons'?" by Pat McMahon, Feb. 7, 1979.
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Canada and the World.

"Nato: Keep It or Abolish It?" by Bruce Cushing, Sept. 1974;
"The Mexican Standoff" by Charles A. White, March 1977;
"Simple Motives" by Maurice Walsh, April 1978;
Cartoon, January 1978.

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"It could be a world without a future";

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Table of Contents

INTRODUCTORY NOTES	1
A. Unit Goals	2
B. Flow Chart	3
C. Unit Objectives	4
D. Evaluation Summary	6
E. Prescribed Resources	6
F. Note to the Teacher	7
 PART I: OPENER	 11
Activity 1: Introduction	13
Activity 2: The Threat of Nuclear War	19
Data Sheet I-1: War Deaths	30
Study Print I-2: Nagasaki After the Dropping of the Atomic Bomb	31
Worksheet I-3: President Truman and the Decision to Drop the Atomic Bomb	32
Opinionnaire I-4	35
Assignment I-5a	36
Assignment I-5b: Sample only	37
Assignment I-5c (optional)	38
Article I-6: Alberta Survival Plan: The Nuclear Threat to Alberta	40
 PART II: WHY NATIONS GO TO WAR	 57
Activity 3: Research Procedures	60
Activity 4: The Concept of Conflict	63
Activity 5: Causes of War: World War I	68
Activity 6: World War II	73
Activity 7: The Concept of a Just War	79
Activity 8: Why Nations Go To War	86
Worksheet II-1: Research Procedures, Teacher's copy	92
Worksheet II-1: Research Procedures, Student's copy	93
Assignment II-2: What Turns Boys into Vicious 'Goons'?	94
Article II-3: What Turns Boys into Vicious 'Goons'?	95

Study Print II-4	97
Article II-5: Is Man Really a Killer?	99
Information Chart II-6: The Causes of War	111
Information Chart II-7: Causes of World War I	112
Worksheet II-8: The Treaty of Versailles	113
Data Sheet II-9: War Dead 1939-1945	115
Data Sheet II-10: War Deaths, 1914-1918	116
Assignment II-11: The Rise of Nazi Germany	117
Information Chart II-12: Hitler's Beliefs/Feelings	119
Data Sheet II-13: Hitler's Dreams of Expansion	120
Data Sheet II-14: Germany in World War II	121
Study Guide II-15	122
Article II-16: The Man Who Makes the Nazis Jump	124
Article II-17: Boy 'Shot Escaping Gas Chamber'	126
Article II-18: Albertan to be Tried for War Crimes	127
Article II-19: World War II Speech	128
Information Chart II-20: The Just War	130
Article II-21: The "Just War"	131
Information Sheet II-22: Arab and Israeli Justifications	135
Data Sheet II-23: Arab-Israeli Conflict	136
Worksheet II-24a: Causation	137
Worksheet II-24b: Justification of War	138
Worksheet II-24c: Personal Criteria for the Justification of War	139
Guide for Roleplay II-25: Crisis in Adanac	140
Article II-26: The Morality of War	142
Article II-27: Why They Fought	147
Article II-28: Let's Not Forget - Some Made No Apologies for War	148
Article II-29: Simple Motives	149
Essay Assignment II-30	151
 PART III: HOW NATIONS ATTEMPT TO ENSURE PEACE	 153
Activity 9: How Nations Attempt to Ensure Peace	155
Activity 10: Towards Peace	161

Information Sheet III-1: Alternatives	165
Learning Package III-2: Collective Security	166
Source 1	167
Source 2	167
Source 3: The Concept of Collective Security	168
Source 4: Namibia	171
Source 5: A Historical Essay	173
Learning Package III-3: Mutual Deterrence	180
Source 1: Mutual Deterrence	181
Source 2: Balance of Terror	186
Source 3: Crunch to Russian Arms	194
Learning Package III-4: System of Alliances	197
Source 1: The Mexican Standoff	198
Source 2: NATO: Keep it or Abolish it?	205
Source 3: Choosing Up Sides on NATO	210
Learning Package III-5: International Law	215
Source 1: Men in Arms	216
Source 2: World Peace Through World Law	220
Learning Package III-6: Arms Reduction	226
Source 1: Defence Budgets Slipping	228
Source 2: It Could Be a World Without a Future	229
Source 3: Cartoon	230
Source 4: Military to Get Massive Shot in Arm	231
Source 5: Attempts at Prognosis	232
Information Sheet III-7: Theories on the Cause of War and Solutions	240
Article III-8: Satyagraha	241
Article III-9: Advice to a Draftee	244
PART IV: SYNTHESIS	249
Activity 11: Robbers Cave Experiment	251
Data Sheet IV-1: Scale of Conflict	257
Article IV-2: Robbers Cave Experiment - Background	258
Study Guide IV-3: Robbers Cave Experiment - Stage I	271

Study Guide IV-4: Robbers Cave Experiment - Stage II	272
Study Guide IV-5: Robbers Cave Experiment - Stage III	273
Assignment IV-6: Cartoon Assignment	274
 PART V: RESOLVING THE ISSUE	 277
Activity 12: Re-Focus the Issue	279
Activity 13: Deciding on the Issue	286
Article V-1: A Tentative Proposal	290
Article V-2: World Institutions	296
Chart V-3: Central Guidance in the Preference Model	301
Article V-4: The Anatomy of Peace	302
Article V-5: The Small Powers	316
Essay Sample V-6	320
Article V-7: Establishing the Limits of War	322
 PART VI: APPLICATION	 331
Activity 14: Acting on the Decision	332
Article VI-1: Arms Race in the Playroom	337
Article VI-2: Hiroshima Group Commemorates Loss of 100,000 ...	343
Article VI-3: Family and Personal Survival - Part I	344
Article VI-3: Family and Personal Survival - Part II	346
Worksheet VI-4: Describing Social Action	348
Worksheet VI-5: Evaluating Social Action	349
Checklist VI-6: Evaluating the Unit	351
 APPENDIX	 357

NOTE: Pages termed "Student Handout" or "Student Activity Sheet" are intended for duplication. It is imperative that these particular Teaching Unit pages be neither cut nor marked for their continued use in future years.

INTRODUCTORY

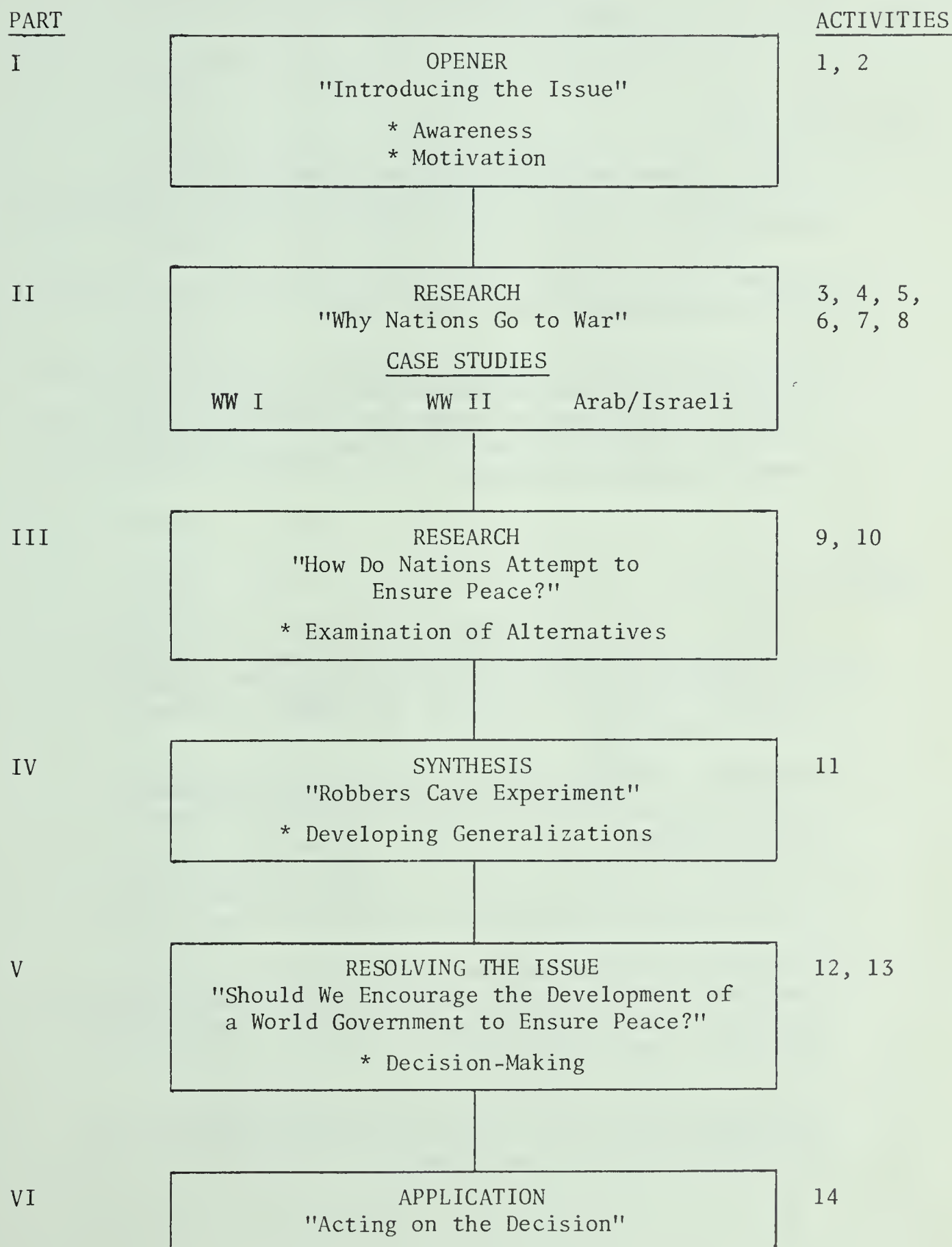
NOTES

A. UNIT GOALS

The goals of this unit are as follows:

1. To involve students in a study of co-operation and conflict in the Twentieth Century.
2. To increase student awareness of the awesome nature of modern warfare.
3. To assist students in broadening their understandings of the causes of war and attempts by nations to ensure peace.
4. To encourage students to examine alternatives such as world government by which peace might be ensured.
5. To provide an opportunity for students to determine a personal position on the unit issue and defend it.

B. FLOW CHART



C. UNIT OBJECTIVES

During this unit, students will:

Value Objectives

1. develop understandings of the relationship of human motivation and needs to the concepts of global co-operation and conflict.
2. become more accepting of the responsibility for life and the support systems that enhance life.
3. develop the ability to apply knowledge of global issues to predict consequences of international co-operation and conflict, and to make personal choices that are consistent with their interpretations of the universal principles of human survival and dignity.

Knowledge Objectives

1. understand that institutions and abstract forces such as alliance systems, nationalism and militarism, represent one dimension of causes of conflict; the human dimension, particularly the personalities of leaders, is also of crucial importance.
2. understand that the Twentieth Century has witnessed significant attempts to promote international peace and global welfare.
3. understand that nations have traditionally been prepared to use whatever means were necessary for their survival.
4. understand that the awesome nature of nuclear weapons threatens annihilation of the human race. Thus, alternative solutions to resolving value differences between nations are being examined continually.
5. understand that humans today actively seek ways to accommodate the need for national identity with the need for international co-operation.

Skill Objectives

1. describe the issue by identifying major international concerns related to conflict and co-operation.
2. establish research questions and procedures for resolving the issue.
3. read and interpret historical materials which trace the record of co-operation and conflict.
4. analyze and evaluate political cartoons to determine symbolism used, and to identify points of view.
5. summarize the purposes of various existing international agencies.
6. formulate alternatives and predict consequences of solutions which could help to ensure world peace.
7. create a plan for world government based on various proposals.
8. assess the process used in taking social action.
9. express ideas and views on the issue in written, verbal and visual form.
10. listen to the expression of feelings of resource persons about personal experiences in situations involving human conflict. (Optional)
11. identify shared beliefs for human welfare on the basis of persuasion, compromise and consensus.
12. provide support for group activity involving citizen participation skills.

D. EVALUATION

<u>PART</u>	<u>MARKS</u>
I Short Answer Test	10
II 1000-1500 word essay: "Why Do Nations Go to War?"	20
III Group Activity: "Alternatives to War"	20
150-200 word essay: "Solutions to War"	5
IV Completion of Study Guides (IV-3), (IV-4), (IV-5)	satisfactory/ unsatisfactory
Completion of Assignment (IV-6): Cartoon Analysis	5
V 200 word essay: Personal Position on the Issue	30
VI Completion of Worksheet (VI-4): Describing Social Action	5
Completion of Worksheet (VI-5): Evaluating Social Action	5
TOTAL	100

E. PRESCRIBED RESOURCES

Feder, B. Viewpoints in World History. New York: Litton Educational Pub. Inc., 1974.

- What Were the Causes of World War I?
- The Rise of the Nazi Horror: Who Was Responsible?
- The Nuclear Arsenals: Security or Suicide?
- The United Nations: Man's Best Hope for Peace?

Moore, J. and R. War and War Prevention. Rochelle Park, New Jersey: Hayden Book Co. Ltd., 1974.

Roselle, D. and Young, A. Our Western Heritage: A Cultural-Analytical History of Europe Since 1500. Lexington, Mass.: Ginn and Co., 1976.

Stoessinger, J. Why Nations Go to War. New York: St. Martin's Press, 1978.

Resources that have "prescribed" status are available to school jurisdictions at a 40% discount if purchased through the School Book Branch.

Selected articles from a variety of sources are provided in the unit also.

F. NOTE TO THE TEACHER

Overview of the Unit

The unit is organized around six parts and fourteen activities. Some activities will take two or three periods while others will take five or six. Thus, you will need to break each activity into the required number of specific lesson plans.

Part I is basically motivational and attempts to identify the issue. Parts II and III are concerned with research. Eight out of fourteen activities are found in these parts. Parts V and VI are concerned with the resolution of the issue through decision-making and action. The action stage contains various suggestions and examples designed to encourage students to actually do something about the issue based on the results of their inquiry.

Materials

A list of materials is provided at the beginning of each part and activity. Materials requiring duplication are noted. This material is identified by Roman and Arabic numerals: thus, (II-3) means print-out 3 in Part II. References to primary texts are made by page number only. As a suggestion, schools might prefer to compile student booklets containing all the required print-outs.

Optional Activities

The unit contains a number of optional activities. These are included for enrichment purposes only.

Alternative Strategies

In some cases, alternative strategies are presented and a number of bracketed (notes) are included which attempt to communicate some intention to the teacher. Further, in many cases some "possible answers" are included with particular activities. Several information grids and retrieval charts are included throughout the unit, some of which can be used directly with a class while others will need to be re-designed to suit your needs.

Scope of Unit

Unit Issue: "Should We Encourage the Development of a World Government?"

This unit covers most but not all aspects of Topic B:

Co-operation and Conflict Among Nations as identified in the 1978 Social Studies Curriculum (Interim). Some aspects of co-operation

such as trade pacts, agreements in the area of science, education and culture, and agreements on the conduct of war should be further developed. Some additional work on conflict in the areas of embargoes, blockades and terrorism could also be done. Suggestions for the additional work are found in the appendix.

The Unit Issue asks whether we should work towards the elimination of nation-states in favour of a new world order in ORDER TO ENSURE PEACE. This narrows the focus somewhat from "human survival" to the best means of ensuring peace. (Of course, if peace can be ensured, human survival is enhanced.) There are all kinds of other implications and issues associated with the concept of World Government such as the distribution of resources, taxation powers and cultural survival. Thus, you could ask whether a world government would help solve such problems as poverty, discrimination and unemployment. However, this unit simply asks whether a world government would help solve the problem of war. This question is more than sufficient for one unit.

PART I

Opener

Overview

Part I is designed to acquaint students with the awesome nature of the modern weapons of war and with the critical need to ensure peace. The students need to know that World War III could be over in a matter of hours. Once started, how can it be stopped? What will be left of the world after the nuclear exchange? War today could literally mean the end of civilization.

If students accept the real threat of a nuclear war and the need to ensure, rather than simply "wish" for peace, then the study of this unit will become much more relevant to them. Part I then is foundational. It sets the stage and as such is probably the most important part of the whole unit.

Student Materials

Class sets are required of most of the materials listed below. Please note that alternative suggestions for use are provided in brackets after some items.

Activity 1

- Data Sheet I-1: "War Deaths" - chart (present on board or make an overhead) (page 30)
- Study Print I-2: "Nagasaki After the Dropping of the Atomic Bomb" - picture (use original if available - see Inside World Politics, page 256, Rogers and Clark or, find a comparable alternative) (page 31)
- Worksheet I-3: (optional) "President Truman and the Decision to Drop the Atomic Bomb" (page 32)
- Opinionnaire I-4: (page 35)
- Assignment I-5a: Cartoon (page 36)

Assignment I-5b: Sample Cartoon (overhead preferred) (page 37)

Assignment I-5c: (optional) (page 38)

Activity 2

Article I-6: Alberta Survival Plan: The Nuclear Threat to Alberta (page 40)

ACTIVITY 1 - INTRODUCTION

A. Intention

This activity attempts to develop the understanding that modern warfare has become increasingly destructive. The Hiroshima bombing in 1945 will be examined as an example of the destructive power of modern weapons. A student opinionnaire will explore feelings and attitudes towards war.

B. Objectives

1. Value

Recognize the basic inhumanity of nuclear weapons which can destroy all life, not just military targets.

2. Knowledge

(a) Outline the general effects of various types of nuclear blasts.

(b) Describe the effects of the nuclear explosion over Hiroshima in 1945.

3. Skill

(a) Generalize about the increasing destructiveness of modern weapons.

(b) Interpret graphs showing casualties from various wars and effects of nuclear blasts.

C. Materials

1. Feder, B., Viewpoints in World History, Litton Educational Publishing, Inc., New York, c1974, pages 492-496, 498-499.
- The Nuclear Arsenals: Security or Suicide?
2. Moore, J. and R., War and War Prevention, Hayden Book Co. Inc., Rochelle Park, N.J., c1974, pages 2-5.
3. Data Sheet I-1: "War Deaths" - chart (page 30)
4. Study Print I-2: "Nagasaki After the Dropping of the Atomic Bomb" - picture (page 31). (Use original if available, page 256, Rogers and Clark, Inside World Politics or, find a comparable alternative.)
5. Worksheet I-3: (optional) "President Truman and the Decision to Drop the Atomic Bomb" (page 32)
6. Opinionnaire I-4: (page 35)
7. Assignment I-5a: Cartoon (page 36)
8. Assignment I-5b: Sample Cartoon (page 37)
9. Assignment I-5c: (optional) (page 38)

D. Learning Activities

1. Present the following information to the students:

Date	War	War Deaths
1861-1865	U.S. Civil War	_____
1870	Franco-Prussian War	_____
1914-1918	World War I	_____
1939-1945	World War II	_____

(a) Ask students to estimate the war deaths for each conflict.

(b) Present the figures: 508,000, 517,000, 9,225,000, 26,450,000. How close were the estimates?

(c) Present circle graph 1 on Data Sheet I-1. (NOTE: Use a prepared overhead or draw on board.) Ask students to make a general statement about the trend evident in the statistics. Example: "In the last 100 years the wars have resulted in an increasing number of casualties".

(d) Present circle graph 2 on Data Sheet I-1 and ask the students if the projection for World War III is consistent with the trend in graph 1.

(e) Present the contents of graph 3 on Data Sheet I-1.

The following points may be used for elaboration:

- (i) the Battle of Britain lasted several months and involved thousands of German and Allied aircraft
- (ii) Dresden was bombed for two days by thousands of Allied bombers
- (iii) Hiroshima was destroyed by one bomb

- (f) Using the above information derive a generalization about the destructive nature of modern warfare. e.g., "Modern warfare has become increasingly destructive."
2. Have students read articles 1-10 (p. 492-496) in Viewpoints of World History, "The Nuclear Arsenal: Security or Suicide", by Feder and answer the following:
- (a) According to Truman, why was the atomic bomb dropped on Hiroshima?
 - (b) Why were the residents of Hiroshima "unprepared" for the attack? Is it possible to "prepare" for a nuclear blast?
(NOTE: The following picture can be used in discussing this question. See Study Print I-2.)
 - (c) Briefly summarize the effects of the nuclear explosion.
 - (d) From the reactions of the three eyewitness survivors of Hiroshima - Mr. Tanimoto, Dr. Sasaki and Tatsue Urata - is there a sense of anger against the enemy or a sense that mankind has witnessed an awesome tragedy?
 - (e) From their comments on the dropping of the bomb, how do you think the following might interpret the universal principles of human survival and human dignity to support their point of view: Truman, Baldwin, Stimson, Feis and Wilson? To what extent can you agree with any of these men?

3. Optional: (Enrichment)

Involve the class in a moral dilemma exercise on "President Truman and the Decision to Drop the Atomic Bomb". Follow the instructions as given in the reading. Have the students discuss the probe questions in class. See Worksheet I-3.

4. Assign the reading of pages 2-5, "The Face of the Enemy: One Aspect", from War and War Prevention by J. and R. Moore and completion of the following questions:

- (a) Would you blame Bob and Joan for being "unprepared" for the nuclear war?
- (b) Briefly describe the effects of the blast. Do you think the description is realistic?
- (c) Explain Joan's statement on page 5 that "my enemy has no face".

5. Ask students to read article 15 (pages 498-499 of Feder) and then summarize the blast and biological effects of a 100 megatonne explosion. Since no nation has ever exploded a 100 megatonne bomb, should we dismiss these kinds of articles as "scare tactics" or should we seriously consider them?

6. Involve students in completing an opinionnaire about attitudes toward a Third World War. (See Opinionnaire I-4.)

- (a) Have the students complete the opinionnaire individually.
- (b) Form small groups and have each group attempt to reach consensus on each point. Discuss two or three reasons for each answer.

- (c) Present the results to the whole class. These could be summarized as follows:

Question	Scores	Average Score
e.g., 1	2, 1, 5 3, 3, 3	$17/6 = 2.9$ (This can mean that the class is "undecided" on question 1.)

- (d) Conclusion: Have students draw inferences from the data:

- (i) Does the class feel there will be a World War III involving Canada?
- (ii) Is the threat of a nuclear war of worldwide concern?
- (iii) Should we be concerned about maintaining world peace?

7. Have students complete the following cartoon assignment

(Student Assignment I-5a).

- (a) In the space provided, write a statement to complete the cartoon.
- (b) On a separate sheet of paper
 - (i) explain the contents of the cartoon
 - (ii) state the main point you were trying to make with your caption about war and peace.

When students have completed the assignment, have them share their work with the class. Sample I-5b is the original cartoon. Show this to the class AFTER the discussion. The author is a Grade 12 student from Bishop Carroll High School, Calgary, Alberta. Student Assignment I-5c is optional.

ACTIVITY 2 - THE THREAT OF NUCLEAR WAR

A. Intention

How realistic is the threat of nuclear war? Would Alberta be affected by a World War III? We tend to leave the matter of world peace with the super-powers. Names such as Moscow, Washington, Tokyo, Peking and Berlin come to mind rather than Drumheller, Edmonton, Lethbridge or Calgary. Yet, the decisions in Moscow might have a very direct bearing on our lives in Alberta.

This activity brings the nuclear threat to Alberta. The students will simulate the effects of an attack on Alberta and then study a report from the Alberta Disaster Services. This report should provide a strong sense of reality to the simulation activity.

B. Objectives

1. Value

Demonstrate concern about the possibility of Alberta becoming directly involved in a nuclear holocaust.

2. Knowledge

(a) Explain the effects of a 10 megatonne and 100 megatonne nuclear explosion.

(b) Describe the main points in the document "Alberta Disaster Services: The Threat of Nuclear War and Implications to Alberta".

3. Skill

- (a) Construct a circle graph on a map of Alberta showing the effect of a 100 megatonne nuclear explosion on any point in Alberta.
- (b) Translate blast effects data from a chart to a circle graph.
- (c) Participate in an activity simulating possible effects of a nuclear attack.

C. Materials

- 1. Article I-6: Alberta Survival Plan: The Nuclear Threat to Alberta (page 40)
- 2. Moore, J. and R., War and War Prevention, Hayden Book Co., Inc., Rochelle Park, N.J., 1974, page 4.

D. Learning Activities

1. Simulation Activity

- (a) Have students study the chart on page 4 of War and War Prevention by J. and R. Moore. This page shows the effect of a 100 megatonne bomb. (NOTE: One megatonne is equal to 1,000,000 tons of TNT.) What would happen if such a bomb was to hit Alberta?
- (b) Ask students to select an Alberta target. Alternative ways of selecting a target include the following:
 - (i) hang a map of Alberta on the bulletin board and throw a dart

(ii) draw the name of a city from a hat

(iii) select your own community

(NOTE: If possible use the Relief Model of Alberta provided to each school by the Alberta Heritage Learning Resources Project.)

(c) After identifying the target, students should draw concentric rings around it showing the blast effects.

(NOTE: See accompanying sample, page 39.) Depending on the availability of maps, this can be done individually or in groups.

(d) Debriefing: Discuss the following questions with the class after the map work is completed.

(i) Are you surprised at the large area "destroyed"?

(ii) If this blast actually happened, what would be our chances of survival?

(iii) Is this whole activity unrealistic?

2. Alberta Disaster Services Document, Government of Alberta:

Tell the students to read Article I-6, "Alberta Survival Plan: The Nuclear Threat to Alberta," and assign the following questions:

(a) What is the source of this document? What is the date?

(b) Does the Alberta government see the possibility of a nuclear war involving Alberta?

(c) What is the most likely target in Alberta? Does it include your area?

- (d) How much "tactical" warning time can be expected prior to a nuclear attack on North America?
- (e) Which areas in Alberta can expect to be a direct target in a nuclear war?
- (f) What would be the general blast effects on Edmonton of a 10 megatonne bomb? (See pages 52-53).
- (g) What is the aim of the planning for civil emergency?
- (h) Given sufficient warning time, what is the advice to Edmonton residents in the event of a nuclear war?
- (i) Study Annex "C" on page 54 and develop several general statements about the information regarding nuclear targets and population/industrial density in Canada and proximity to the USA.
- (j) Study Annex "D" on page 55 and determine the estimated accumulation of radiation dosage over 7 days in your area in the event of a nuclear attack.

(NOTE TO THE TEACHER; Review the work in the previous activity. Has the "game" of eliminating cities on a map now taken a more serious note in view of this government document? Do your students take the nuclear threat seriously? Is there interest in contacting the "Alberta Disaster Services" for further information?)

3. (Optional) Contact the Alberta Disaster Services, Box 10,000 Edmonton, Alberta, phone (403) 427-2772 and arrange for a speaker to speak to the students. (See map of District Offices.)
4. (Optional) Repeat the simulation activity using 10 megatonnes rather than 100 megatonnes.



" I HAD AN ABSOLUTELY TERRIFYING
NIGHTMARE LAST NIGHT..."



"...WITH ANY LUCK, IT WILL BE
OPERATIONAL BY NEXT YEAR!"

Sean McBride, an Irish statesman, says an ultrasonic bomb has been developed. It destroys brain cells and turns people into idiots, incapable of reason or control. McBride says this kind of development has not been matched by any sense of moral responsibility. Discuss.

Copyright Canada and the
World, January 1978.

5. Assist students in understanding the issue using the following questions:

- (a) What have we learned so far? (Develop the following summary chart and discuss each solution with the class. Encourage the class to provide solutions and identify problems.)

Sample Problem Identified	Possible Solutions
Modern weapons have become so destructive they can now destroy mankind.	Reduce armaments around the world. Perhaps nuclear arms should be banned.
Every person on the planet is a possible victim of a nuclear war: the innocent will perish along with the guilty.	Create a world government to promote peace since nuclear war knows no boundaries.
Mankind must eliminate or at least reduce conflict.	Social scientists need to study the reasons for war. Perhaps conflicts can be reduced by more international sports events. Or, future wars might be more carefully controlled and regulated.
We need worldwide institutions that can enforce peace.	The United Nations should be strengthened.
The individual needs to be able to responsibly and effectively promote peace and international understanding.	International organizations concerned with the welfare of mankind should be supported.
List others.	Others (?)

- (b) What kind of conclusions can we draw from the previous list of problems/solutions? (See samples below.)

- (i) The "problems" are international, thus, the solutions must be international in nature.
 - (ii) Individual citizens need to act to prevent the outbreak of a nuclear war. They need to have strong and responsible institutions which will ensure peace. Perhaps the institution of a formal world government would secure the purpose.
- (c) Would the creation of a world government encompass the universal principles of human survival and human dignity as understood by the students?
- (i) What is meant by the above phrase "... the universal principles of human survival and human dignity"? List the following on the chalk board:
 - Universal principles -
 - Human survival -
 - Human dignity -
 - (ii) Ask the students to attempt a written definition of each. Have the students share their efforts and derive the following responses:

Universal Principles: generally accepted statements which embody mankind's most cherished hopes and ideas.

Human Survival: existence; to avoid extinction of the human race.

Human Dignity: psychological survival; something more than mere existence; the quality of being "human" expressed in terms of hopes and fears and protected by basic rights.
(These rights will be examined further)
 - (iii) Develop examples of each term:

Provide students with the following excerpts (overhead preferred).

"Men are born, and continue, free and equal in respect of their rights - The end of all political associations is the preservation of the natural and imprescriptible rights of man: and these are liberty, property, security and resistance of oppression."

"Every citizen may speak, write, and publish freely, provided he is responsible for the abuse of this liberty in cases determined by the Law?"

("Declaration of the Rights
of Man and the Citizen"
France, 1789)

"We hold these truths to be self-evident, that all men are created equal, that they are endowed by their creator with certain inalienable rights, that among these are life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness"

("Declaration of Independence "
USA, 1776)

Bill of Rights

1. It is hereby recognized and declared that in Canada there have existed and shall continue to exist without discrimination by reason of race, national origin, color, religion or sex, the following human rights and fundamental freedoms, namely,

(a) The right of the individual to life, liberty, security of the person and enjoyment of property, and the right not to be deprived thereof except by due process of law;

(b) The right of the individual to equality before the law and the protection of the law;

(c) Freedom of religion;

(d) Freedom of speech;

(e) Freedom of assembly and association; and

(f) Freedom of the press.

(Canadian "Bill of Rights"
1960)

We, the peoples of the United Nations, determined to save succeeding generations from the scourge of war, which twice in our lifetime has brought untold sorrow to mankind, and to reaffirm faith in fundamental human rights, in the dignity and worth of the human person, in the equal rights of men and women and of nations large and small, and to establish conditions under which justice and respect for the obligations arising from treaties and other sources of international law can be maintained, and to promote social progress and better standards of life in larger freedom...

Have resolved to combine our efforts to accomplish these aims.

(UN Charter, 1945)

Using the above sources, have the students give examples in history or in contemporary times illustrating the terms:

"human survival" and "human dignity". Examples of the loss of human dignity, or the struggle for human dignity, may come from the following:

- abuses of child labour in Eighteenth Century England
- humiliation of the German people after World War I
- slavery
- women's liberation
- some suicides
- etc.

Examples of "human survival" might include Nazi Germany's attempt to exterminate the Jews, and elimination of various Indian tribes such as the Tasmanians of Australia and the Beothuck tribe of Newfoundland in the Eighteenth Century.

See H. Horwood, Newfoundland, Macmillan Co., Toronto, 1969, Chapter 11, or an appropriate encyclopedia.

Review earlier definitions of these two value concepts.

Discuss what may be added to extend or to describe further what human dignity and survival mean. Do not encourage a final definition; nor is it necessary for the whole class to agree on all of the attributes of the definition at this time.

(vi) Conclusion:

Tell the students that one of the objectives of this unit is ... "to make choices that are consistent with universal principles of human survival and dignity". We will have to keep these in mind and return to them at various points in the unit.

(Note: Teachers should consider keeping this list of attributes prominently displayed in the classroom so it would be readily available as needed.)

E. Evaluation

The primary purpose of Part I was to motivate students and create an awareness of the issue. Evaluation at this stage should be based on the satisfactory completion of the activities in class. Since it is most important that students have a basic understanding of the "should" question, the following short answer test is suggested:

Short Answer Test for Part I

1. Using any example from your class work, describe the destructive power of nuclear weapons. (3 marks)
2. Is there evidence to suggest that Alberta would be directly involved if a nuclear war occurred? Briefly explain your answer. (3 marks)

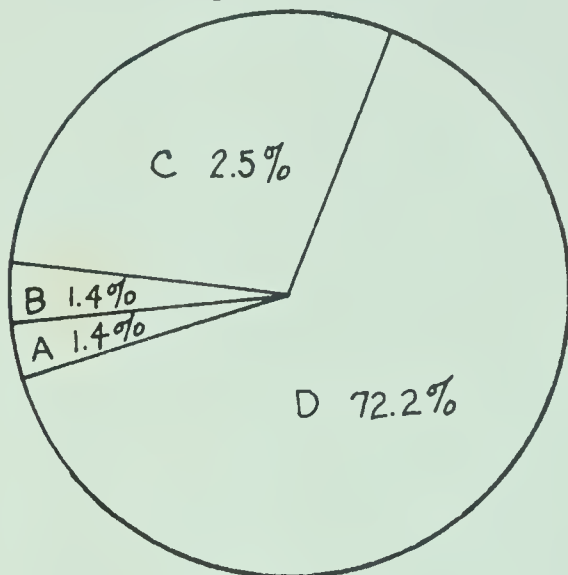
3. Briefly explain your understanding of the issue: "Should we encourage the development of a world government?" (4 marks)

TOTAL: 10 marks

DATA SHEET I-1

WAR DEATHS

1. WAR DEATHS
(MILITARY AND CIVILIAN)
DURING FOUR MAJOR CONFLICTS
(in percentages*)

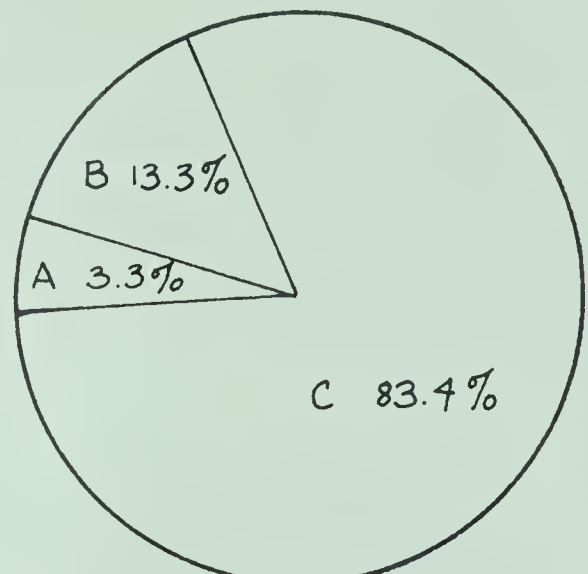


A: Franco-Prussian War-517,000
 B: American Civil War-508,000
 C: World War I - 9,225,000
 D: World War II - 26,450,000

Total Deaths - 36,700,000

*percentages are taken from the total number of deaths

2. TOTAL DEATHS
IN THREE MAJOR TWENTIETH CENTURY CONFLICTS
(in percentages*)

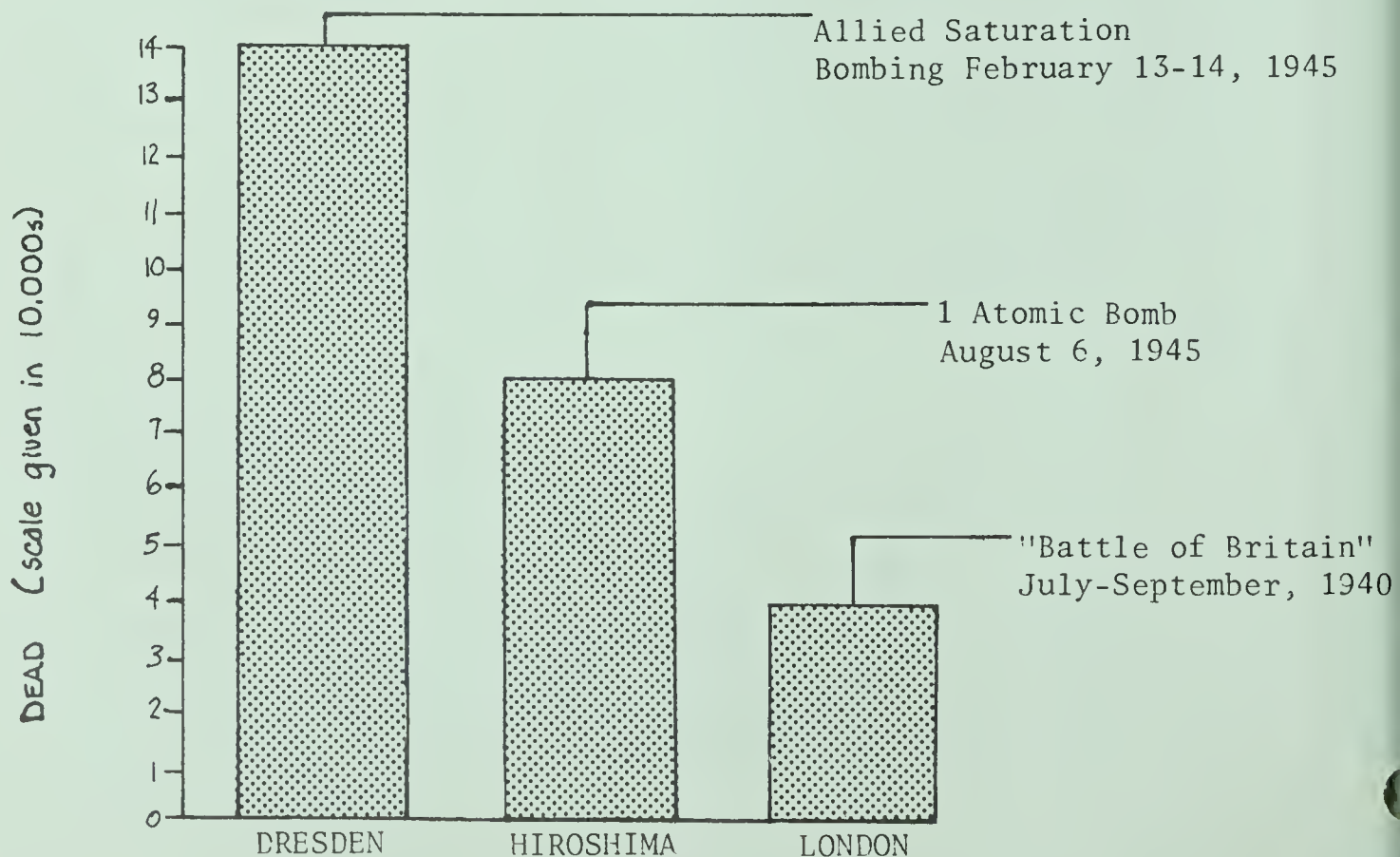


A: World War I - 9,225,000
 B: World War II - 26,450,000
 C: World War III
 (possible deaths through nuclear attack in
 China, Russia and the United States)
 - 234,325,000

Total Deaths - 270,000,000

*percentages are taken from the total number of deaths

GREAT TRAGEDIES OF WORLD WAR II



STUDY PRINT I-2



Nagasaki after the dropping of the atomic bomb

Rogers, D. and Clark, R.
Inside World Politics,
p. 256. Copyright Miller
Services, Toronto, Ontario.

WORKSHEET I-3
PRESIDENT TRUMAN AND THE DECISION
TO DROP THE ATOMIC BOMB

Early in World War II a group of scientists began to work on plans to develop an atomic bomb. In 1945, after years of intense effort, they reported to President Truman that they had at last perfected a bomb with such terrible power that just one could wipe out an entire city. Some of the scientists urged President Truman to drop the bomb on a Japanese city as a means of bringing the war to an end.

Below you will find four reasons that support dropping the bomb and four reasons against it. Read them over and decide what you think President Truman should have done. Your teacher will then divide the class into groups according to whether people think Truman should or should not have dropped the bomb. Each group will discuss all four reasons given for the action the group is recommending and decide which reasons are best. Then the whole class will meet to discuss the dilemma.

Reasons to Drop the Bomb

- A. The Japanese bombed Pearl Harbor without giving the United States any warning. They killed many American sailors, and they have killed lots of American servicemen since, for example, in the Baatan death march. So we ought to treat them just like they treated us.
- B. All lives are of equal worth, American and Japanese alike. Dropping the bomb will kill a lot of people. But it will kill fewer people than if we must invade Japan. Besides, it will bring the war to an end sooner and reduce the total amount of suffering.
- C. A good president must care about the suffering of American soldiers. The president should try to do

whatever is possible to bring the war to an end quickly. Hence, the bomb should be dropped.

- D. The war threatens the stability of the entire American society. To preserve the society and protect the public welfare, we must win the war. We should drop the bomb to protect ourselves against our enemies by bringing the war to an end.

Reasons Not to Drop the Bomb

- A. The United States believes in the sanctity of human life. Destroying human life by dropping the atomic bomb will undermine the respect of the American people for human life. Therefore, it will threaten the stability of American society, which would be a bad thing.
- B. Dropping the bomb would be a cruel and wicked act because it would kill so many civilians. How could we live with our consciences if we did such a wicked thing?
- C. If we drop a bomb on the Japanese, the next people who develop a bomb will have a good reason to drop it on us. If we are cruel, they'll be cruel too.
- D. Life is a universal right which must be respected by all people. It doesn't matter what nationality those people are. Dropping the bomb on the Japanese people is a violation of this basic human right.

Universal Values in American History: Personal Conflicts in the Modern Era.

WORKSHEET I-3 (continued)

Probe Questions

President Truman and the Decision to Drop the Atomic Bomb

1. Does a national leader have an obligation to protect the lives of citizens in a country that is at war with his or her country? Why or why not?
2. Did President Truman have an obligation to the American people to end the war no matter what means he had to use? Why or why not?
3. Should a national leader ever make a decision that will endanger the nation's reputation? Why or why not?
4. Should President Truman have insisted that the bomb be dropped only on military installations? Why or why not?
5. Is it worse to kill civilians than it is to kill soldiers in a war? Why or why not?
6. Should a national leader make a decision that violates his or her conscience? Why or why not?
7. Is killing ever justifiable? Under what conditions? How do you decide? Is killing a lot of people worse than killing just one person? Why or why not?

OPINIONNAIRE I-4

INSTRUCTIONS:

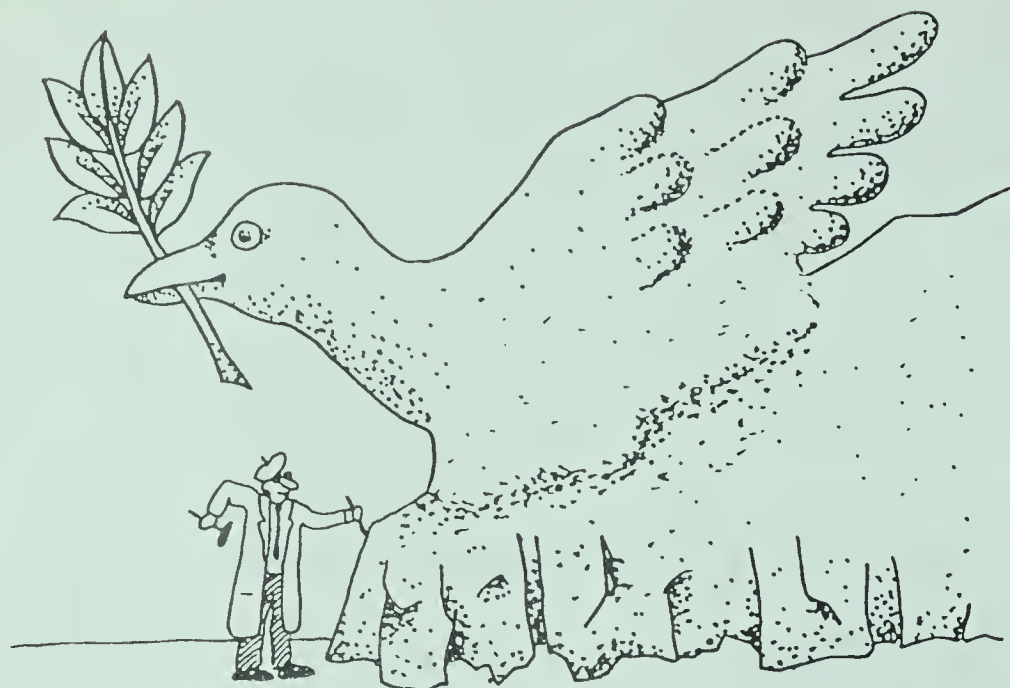
Indicate your reaction to the following statements using the following code:

- 5 - Strongly Agree
- 4 - Agree
- 3 - Uncertain
- 2 - Disagree
- 1 - Strongly Disagree

Please record it on a separate sheet of paper.

1. The probability of a full-scale nuclear war by the year 2000 is high.
2. Should World War III occur, nuclear weapons will be used.
3. Canada would be directly involved in a nuclear war.
4. Because of our large oil reserves, Alberta would be a prime target in a nuclear war.
5. Canada will survive any nuclear war because of her vast size and small population.
6. Nuclear weapons are so destructive our leaders will not allow their use.
7. We simply do not know what the effects of a nuclear war would be, therefore people who write about such effects are just trying to scare us.
8. Our scientists will find a way to protect us by neutralizing the effects of radiation.
9. Nuclear weapons should be banned.
10. My chances of surviving a nuclear war are much better in Canada than the chances of citizens in the U.S.A., the U.S.S.R. and China.

ASSIGNMENT I-5a



Winselley
1978.

ASSIGNMENT I-5b - SAMPLE ONLY



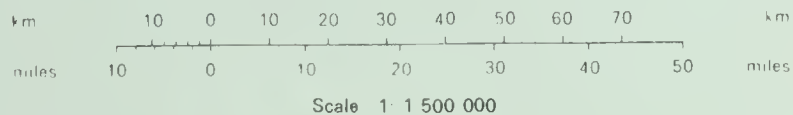
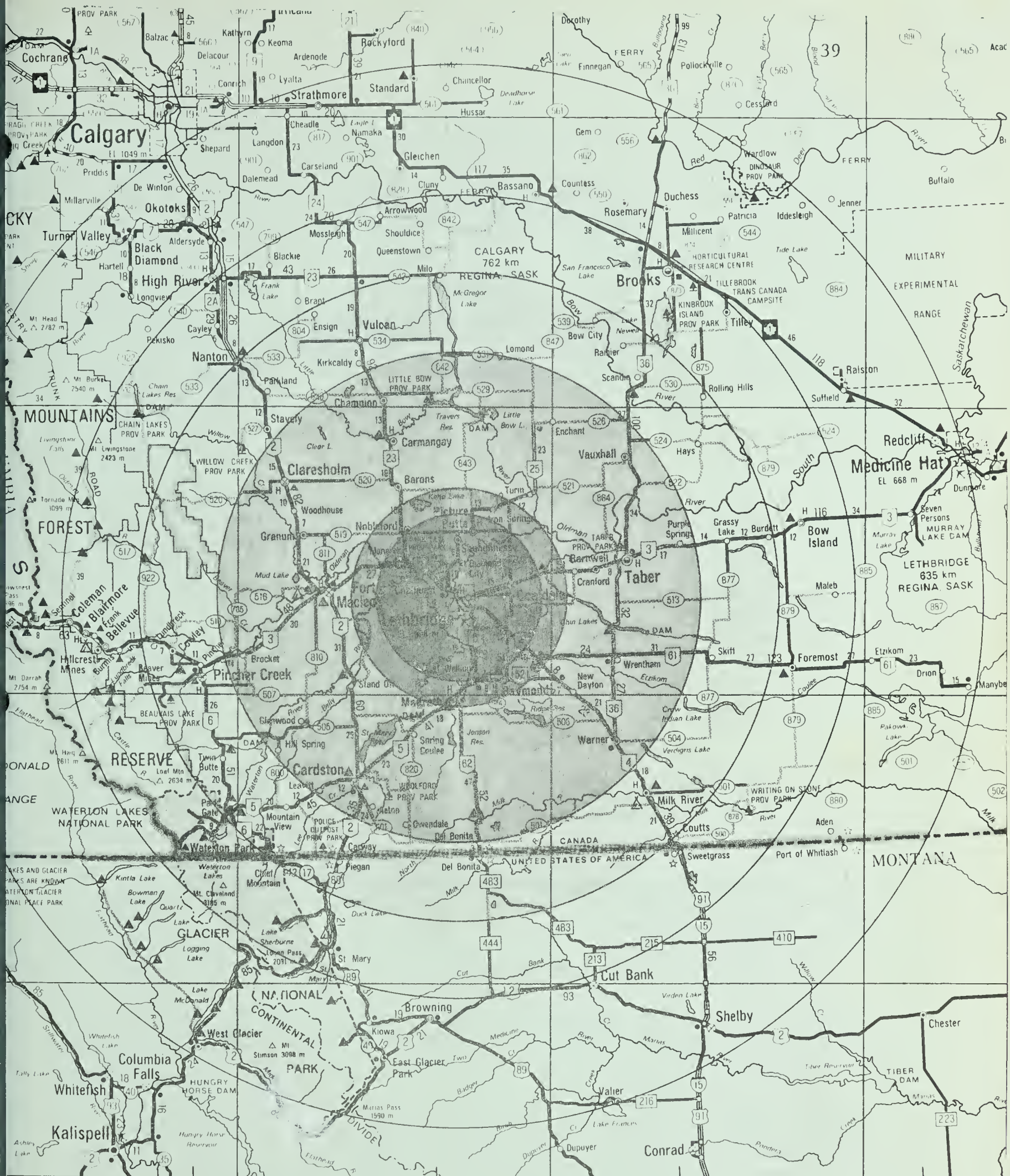
TOO ABSTRACT FOR MY
TASTE...



ASSIGNMENT I-5c
(OPTIONAL)



Are people more "interested" in war than peace? What does the author say?



auto body sheet metal vaporizes;
glass panels melt

auto body sheet metal melts

3rd degree burns; light fabrics
and dry leaves ignite

2nd degree burns;
crumpled newspaper ignites

1st degree burns;

ARTICLE I-6

ALBERTA SURVIVAL PLANPART ISECTION BTHE NUCLEAR THREAT TO ALBERTAContents

Aim	Page 1
Source	1

SECTION B-1THE THREAT AND GENERAL EFFECTS

Significance of Threat	1
Warning Time	2
Risk Areas and Attack Effects	2

SECTION B-2IMPLICATIONS OF THE NUCLEAR THREATAND PLANNING GUIDANCE FOR CIVIL EMERGENCY ACTIVITIES

General	3
Warning	4
Planning for Risk Areas - General Guidance	4
Planning for Education	
Emergency Government District	5
Planning for Calgary	
Emergency Government District	6
Planning for Areas at Risk from Fallout	6
Planning for Areas at Negligible Risk	6
The Electromagnetic Pulse	
(EMP) Threat	7
Planning Guidance for Civil	
Emergency Activities	7
Conclusion	11

SECTION BTHE NUCLEAR THREAT TO ALBERTAAIM

1. The aim of this section is to provide an estimate of the nuclear war threat, its implications and planning guidance for civil emergency activities purposes.

SOURCE

2. The primary source of information contained in this section is the paper, "The Nuclear Threat, Its Implications and Planning Guidance", published by Emergency Planning Canada in 1978.

SECTION B-1THE THREAT AND GENERAL EFFECTSSIGNIFICANCE OF THE THREAT

3. While various forms of attack against North America are possible, nuclear attack remains the most significant threat.

4. The likelihood of countries other than the recognized nuclear powers acquiring nuclear weapons increases the risk of their use in war. Moreover, the increase in size, effectiveness, numbers and accuracy of such weapons, together with the diversification of delivery systems, has increased the magnitude of the nuclear threat.

5. Should a nuclear attack occur, certain areas of Canada could be involved directly as nuclear targets and others would be seriously affected by radioactive fallout. A second strike following the initial attack on North America is possible.

6. It is impossible to determine exactly the numbers or yields of weapons that would be used against any particular target area. However, for planning purposes, it is assumed that an enemy would wish to cause at least major destruction of industrial and other facilities within a target area. This, in effect, represents a situation that tends toward the worst possible result for each area at risk.

7. There is an inherent danger in attempting to delineate probable target cities and related fallout intensities in too much detail, since there may be a tendency to use them rigidly. Planning must be sufficiently flexible to meet a post-attack situation which cannot be accurately forecast. On the other hand, some definition of the areas at risk is needed to provide both comparisons and a basis for continual contingency planning.

WARNING TIME

8. Warning of an impending attack is likely in nearly all situations. Warning time is especially useful if civil emergency plans are complete and essential infrastructures are in place. Advances in technology have reduced, though not eliminated, the likelihood of sudden attack and direct precipitation into nuclear war. It is possible that there may be a minimum of about 15 minutes warning time of an actual attack on North America. However, it is considered more likely that an international situation leading to nuclear war will develop over a period of time and will probably include various obvious indications of the increasing seriousness of the situation. The controlled response strategy which is then possible provides both sides with a wide range of options in which actions and reactions may impose variable significant stresses on the national, provincial and local civil structures. Thus, the possible duration of an emergency includes periods of increasing international tension and even limited conventional war.

RISK AREAS AND ATTACK EFFECTS

9. Areas at Risk from Direct Effects. The Government of Canada has listed ten potential areas at risk from the direct effects of nuclear weapons in order to provide a portion of the base for civil emergency planning. Edmonton is included on this list, and is forecast to be vulnerable to an attack by one or more weapons with a total explosive force equivalent to that of 10 megatonnes of TNT. Very significantly for Alberta, the City of Calgary, which was included in previous lists of potential target areas, has been removed.

10. Blast Damage. The extent of damage from blast depends on the yield of the weapon, the height of burst, and the type of target. Blast damage from a representative 10 megatonne surface burst, where the fireball touches the ground, is shown at Annex "A". Topographic variations and energy absorbed in destroying buildings will cause the damage rings illustrated to be irregularly shaped.

11. Thermal Damage. The heat generated by a nuclear detonation can cause burns to people and cause fires at considerable distances from the point of burst. Thermal damage from a representative 10 megatonne surface burst is illustrated at Annex "B".

12. Areas of Risk from Fallout. Because of variations in speed and directions of winds, it is impossible to accurately delineate the areas which would be effected by fallout, even if the attack pattern were known, which of course it is not. Nevertheless, the Government of Canada has prepared a general description of wartime radiation fallout risks in Canada, based on reasonable assumptions of what the attack pattern might be and on average prevailing wind speeds and directions. This estimate of fallout risk areas for Canada appears in map form at Annex "C", and in more detail, of Alberta, at Annex "D". The Alberta map is predicated on nuclear strikes on Edmonton and targets in the States of Montana and Washington. When using this map for planning purposes, it should be noted that the extent of fallout on any given day is not likely to encompass the entire area shown, but will be restricted within this area, its delineation being in accordance with the meteorological conditions of the day.

13. In addition to the attack effects indicated above there is also the effect of electro-magnetic pulse (EMP) on the electrical and electronic systems within the range of such effects. In addition to EMP effects from surface bursts, EMP from nuclear weapon bursts at high altitudes may cause temporary disruption in many systems vital to the continuance of operations in a war emergency; e.g., communications, radar, electronic data processing systems, etc.

SECTION B-2

IMPLICATIONS OF THE NUCLEAR THREAT

AND PLANNING GUIDANCE FOR CIVIL EMERGENCY ACTIVITIES

GENERAL

14. The aim of civil emergency planning for a war emergency is to ensure the survival of the nation, by:

- a. minimizing the loss of life, injuries, property and resources;
- b. ensuring the continuity of government;
- c. making the best possible use of resources remaining after the attack.

15. Effective planning to achieve these ends depends on understanding the implications of the threat.

WARNING

16. Emergency plans should include arrangements which take optimum advantage of whatever warning time might be available. Planners should be aware of how far their readiness capability can be advanced in various time periods; e.g., 30 days; 7 days; 48 hours. A study of lead times and readiness requirements will assist in determining what actions must be taken within each period.

17. Arrangements should be made to accelerate war emergency capability by using greater resources which would then be made available. Included in such arrangements are:

- a. Review and/or updating of emergency plans;
- b. Designation of officials to specific emergency appointments;
- c. Review of shelter spaces availability;
- d. Graduated dispersal of operational and other resources;
- e. Accelerated public information;
- f. Crisis escalation training, alerting practices and exercises;
- g. Increased readiness of emergency government headquarters accommodations.

18. Emergency plans should deal with the possibility of a surprise attack, or a very short warning period, by providing for rapid implementation using existing capabilities, e.g., temporary overcrowding in available shelters; telescoping of preparation activities for the various stages of civil alert; ensuring that the most essential items are given priority.

PLANNING FOR RISK AREAS - GENERAL GUIDANCE

19. Types of Risk Areas. For planning purposes, Alberta can be divided into three types of areas, namely:

- a. an area in danger of the direct effects of nuclear explosions, i.e., Edmonton;
- b. areas in danger of varying amounts of fallout;
- c. the remainder of the province, i.e., the Peace River District and the Northeast sector of Alberta, which is at very insignificant risk of any weapons effects.

20. Planning Priorities. Irrespective of the level of government involved or the degree of risk to which communities are exposed, there are many common activities in all civil emergency planning programs. Ideally, each geographic area would have a comprehensive program covering all contingencies arising from an attack. However, because of limited resources, the possibility of reaching the ideal is unlikely. Therefore, emergency planners must give priority to those affairs and events considered to be most likely, without completely ignoring the less likely. The risk map at Annex "C" provides:

- a. a method of comparing the relative risk in one area to that of the others;
- b. an indication of which areas should receive program priority in the development of protective measures;
- c. a method of determining the appropriate levels of protection required to meet contingency plans.

PLANNING FOR EDMONTON EMERGENCY GOVERNMENT DISTRICT

21. Because it is possible that there would be only minimal warning of attack, an adequate national public information and education program should be implemented in peacetime. Such a program would alert the public to finding the safest locations for protection against the primary effects of detonation and how to improve them. The public information program would also provide post-attack survival information.

22. For business, industry and institutions, an information program should include advice on improving protection of vital records, plans and specifications, and on physical protective measures that would reduce the vulnerability of buildings, critical machinery, equipment, etc.

23. The preparation of dispersal plans should be considered. Even though it is impossible to predict that sufficient time will be available, in a crisis there might well be many factors that could lead governments to suggest such a movement.

24. Although such plans are usually interpreted as being concerned with only the general public, arrangements should also be made for government, business, industry and institutions to disperse key records, plans and specifications, readily movable physical assets and resources, including those critical to an essential function, away from Edmonton to the extent possible.

25. The movement of pre-attack and post-attack evacuees from Edmonton must be balanced with the capability of road systems to cope adequately with anticipated traffic loads, and the capacity of reception communities

to receive evacuees and provide adequate fallout protection for them. All locations away from the areas likely to be affected by primary effects should be considered as possible reception areas. It is true that there is a likelihood of exposing evacuees to a significant radiation hazard but this must be balanced against the risk of these people being subjected to all the primary effects if they are not dispersed.

26. Under certain conditions, pre-attack dispersal might involve solely the movement of people from a "core" area to basements or other suitable accommodation in designated fringe areas. Although such a movement would not be as effective in life-saving as dispersal to more distant destinations, it could achieve a more desirable distribution of citizens, thus reducing their potential vulnerability.

27. It is considered that those areas adjacent to likely target cities are sufficiently low in priority to make their likelihood of attack low, although it remains possible. Planning for such areas should be based on their use as reception areas.

PLANNING FOR CALGARY EMERGENCY GOVERNMENT DISTRICT

28. Although Calgary has been removed from the list of areas deemed to be at risk from the direct effects of nuclear weapons, its large population and the magnitude of its resources make it advisable to undertake a special review of the Calgary Emergency Government District. This will be done by the Government of Alberta in consultation with Calgary Emergency Government District authorities.

PLANNING FOR AREAS AT RISK FROM FALLOUT

29. These areas should base their planning on:

- a. a public protection program not including dispersal, except for remedial evacuation. (Where such areas are within 50 kilometres of Edmonton, a program is necessary to inform the population, industry and business institutions on how to meet the primary effects as well as fallout effects);
- b. post-attack emergency conditions;
- c. post-attack remedial evacuation.

PLANNING FOR AREAS AT NEGLIGIBLE RISK

30. Planning for these areas should be based on:

- a. pre- and post-attack reception of evacuees and casualties;
- b. provision of human and material resources to other areas in the province;
- c. the possibility -- even if remote -- of a random strike and the resultant fallout; therefore, at the least, a rough identification of fallout shelter spaces should be made;
- d. disruption of systems elsewhere could adversely affect these areas, e.g., destruction of food processing plants, disruption of electric power, fuel and telephone systems.

THE ELECTROMAGNETIC PULSE (EMP) THREAT

31. The most effective technique for minimizing damage by EMP to sensitive electrical components involves isolating them electrically. In most cases, satisfactory isolation can be achieved by temporarily disconnecting the equipment from power sources, antennae or other input/ output leads that enter the equipment enclosure.

32. Emergency plans should include various options for either partial or complete isolation of essential communications facilities during the threat period. In developing these plans, consideration must be given to the effect that complete communication isolation (either voluntarily or involuntarily imposed) will have on emergency command and control needs. On a calculated risk basis, resources may be balanced against emergency communications needs by the reservation of some facilities to replace systems in use in the event of their failure.

PLANNING GUIDANCE FOR CIVIL EMERGENCY ACTIVITIES

33. General. This part of the paper presents planning guidance for some of the major civil emergency activities. It does not include any related cost factors.

34. Public Protection. The implication of the threat for most geographic areas, is that the public could be exposed to one or more hazards. The degree of protection required will vary according to the risk to which people are likely to be exposed. Some of the implications on the activities which would comprise the program of public protection are included in subsequent paragraphs.

35. Fallout Protection. The long-term goal is to provide a fallout protection factor (PF) of 100, where it is appropriate and possible to do so, for all persons likely to be exposed to the fallout radiation hazard. However, the protection provided should be based upon the potential hazard for the area indicated in Annex "D". Short-term minimum fallout

protection should be based on the degree of risk from radiation doses, the number of people to be sheltered and the shelters available.

36. Dispersal.

- a. Casualties caused by direct weapons effects could be considerably reduced from potential target areas. Studies should consider the following factors which are likely to have a bearing on the degree of success of dispersal planning:
 - (1) time available for implementation;
 - (2) federal, provincial and municipal government response to worldwide events;
 - (3) public response to dispersal planning;
 - (4) feasibility of dispersal; e.g., traffic congestion, refueling facilities, etc.;
 - (5) arrangements for reception;
 - (6) fallout protection available.
- b. The opportunity to carry out voluntary dispersal should be available to the population in the Edmonton target area. This would include advice as to the best routes to follow, what to take, and the necessary arrangements for reception and billeting in reception areas.

37. Individual Protection. Individuals should be encouraged to make their own preparations to reduce their vulnerability in a manner commensurate with the risk area in which they reside as indicated in the federal publication "11 Steps to Survival".

38. Radiological Defence.

- a. Fallout monitoring posts should be given at least the same degree of fallout protection as that provided for the public. As a matter of priority, monitoring posts should be established in likely areas of fallout as indicated on the threat map in descending order of risk, then in target areas and finally in areas that indicate little or no radiation hazard. Monitoring posts may be located in emergency government headquarters and communal fallout shelters, where they could carry out the dual functions of advice to headquarters staff and shelter managers, and radiation monitoring,

- b. Each Emergency Government area should have at least two individuals designated and trained as radiological defence officers, to advise local authorities on this somewhat technical subject.

39. Public Information.

- a. In addition to the normal task of conducting information programs, peacetime information services must develop prearranged information and education programs for implementation through the various media. Prepared information should be focussed directly on the likely programs or hazards to which the public will be exposed. It should be stored and reviewed annually to ensure its continuing appropriateness.
- b. In most cases, the prepared programs would be disseminated through existing services at existing locations. In an attack, these services will be exposed to the same hazards as the public. Therefore, plans and preparations will have to be made to operate these services from alternative protected locations such as Area Emergency Government Headquarters (AEGHQs). Broadcasting stations or other facilities required to continue operation should be tied by communications to REGHQs from which guidance to the public is to be prepared and disseminated.

40. Continuity of Government.

- a. Emergency government headquarters and other forms of emergency operations centres should be protected against the secondary effects of nuclear detonations. In addition, those headquarters located adjacent to Edmonton should have sufficient strength to resist over-pressure of 30 psi. If less protection is to be afforded, then a combination of strength and distance as well as fallout protection will be the governing factors. From the point of view of directing and controlling post-attack emergency operations, the headquarters should be located as close as possible to the target area consistent with the weapon effects and the protection provided by the structure. Alberta Disaster Services is prepared to assist in determining what constitutes suitable protection in these areas.
- b. Area Emergency Government Headquarters outside Edmonton Emergency Government District should be located in buildings with the maximum PF available, always striving for a minimum of 100.
- c. Because emergency government headquarters are often located in places other than the place of normal work, plans should be

developed to phase the manning of such headquarters during periods of increasing international tension.

- d. Key facilities and installations should be treated as a form of emergency operations centre referred to above.

41. Health. The following threat implications should be considered:

- a. Hospital facilities in the Edmonton target area should not be relied on for any major contribution to the emergency health services requirements;
- b. Emergency medical facilities should not be located in Edmonton. It may become necessary to locate advanced treatment centres adjacent to Edmonton. The sites selected should be close to the predicted outer limits of the area. An emergency health unit should always be established in accommodation with the maximum protection available.

42. Welfare. Emergency Welfare Services facilities should be located in accommodation with the maximum protection available.

43. Fire. Fire defence planning should include, during a crisis period, some escalation in training the population in activities that reduce vulnerability to fire. Plans should take into account possible interruption of normal means of obtaining water.

44. Rescue. Rescue organizations, some of which should be associated with casualty clearing units, should be provided and arrangements made for their pre-attack dispersal or protection.

45. Utilities. These include water, electricity, telephone and gas installations and plants. Plans should include alternative arrangements for continuation of essential services to the surviving population.

46. Economic Planning and Resource Control. The nuclear threat places a requirement on planners to examine resources located in potential target areas to determine those resources that may be denied by loss of facility and those that may be denied for given periods of time because of fall-out. Plans should be prepared taking into account relocating, protecting, re-routing or the re-building of resources for the different manufacturing processes or services. Emergency control units for all resource systems should be located in areas where the hazard is negligible or where the hazard can be minimized by the protection available.

47. Reduction of Vulnerability of Systems. The vulnerability of many essential systems such as communications, transportation, food production, etc., is related to their component facilities. The vulnerability

is determined by analyzing the resistance of facilities to direct weapon effects and the potential exposure of essential personnel to radiation. Such an analysis should be carried out at each link of each system to obtain accurate knowledge of potential weaknesses. Plans should then be prepared to raise the overall level of resistance or to provide replacement items, as far as is practicable in peacetime and during periods of increasing international tension.

CONCLUSION

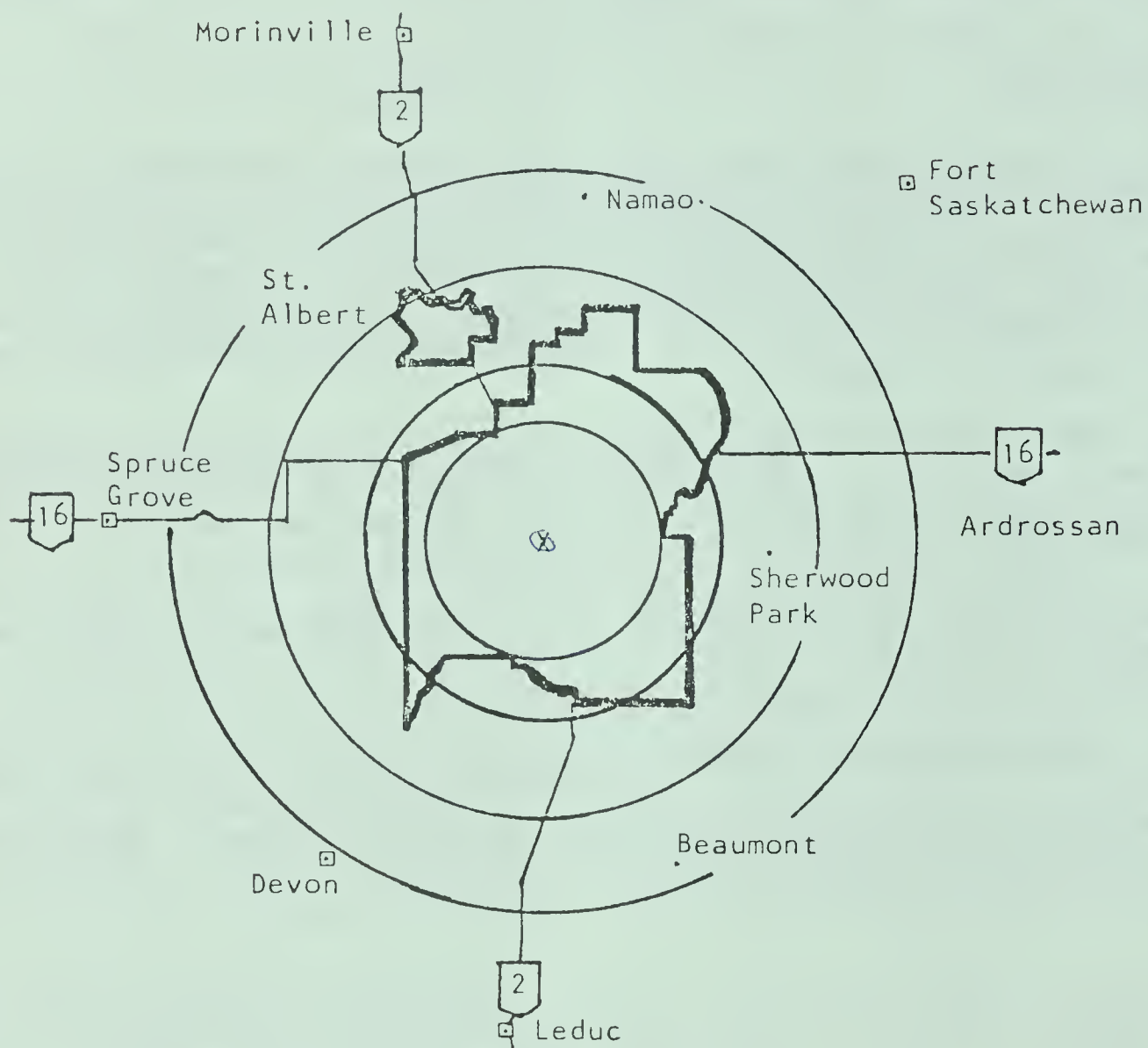
48. The guidance provided in this paper should be considered in the light of analysis of all pertinent factors related to civil emergency planning. It is not suggested that the guidance will meet the requirement for all departments, agencies and levels of government for all situations. There may be situations where the threat may require emphasis in planning to be related to a single option rather than a mix-option of the measures suggested.

49. There is need to ensure that full use is made of whatever warning time is available. Plans should place emphasis on the quick and effective response to the threat which can be achieved by the prior assignment of emergency responsibilities to organizations in being.

50. It follows that development of training cadres and the education of senior officials at all levels of government and industry should be included in the development of contingency plans.

51. Alberta Disaster Services is prepared at all times to discuss any course, or courses of action with civil emergency planners so that a consensus may be achieved and to provide advice relating to technical, organizational, operational or training matters.

Alberta Disaster Services.
Alberta Survival Plan.

STRUCTURAL DAMAGE FROM SURFACE BURSTREPRESENTATIVE 10 MEGATONNE WEAPON - EDMONTON

KILOMETERS FROM GROUND ZERO (X) DEGREE OF DAMAGE

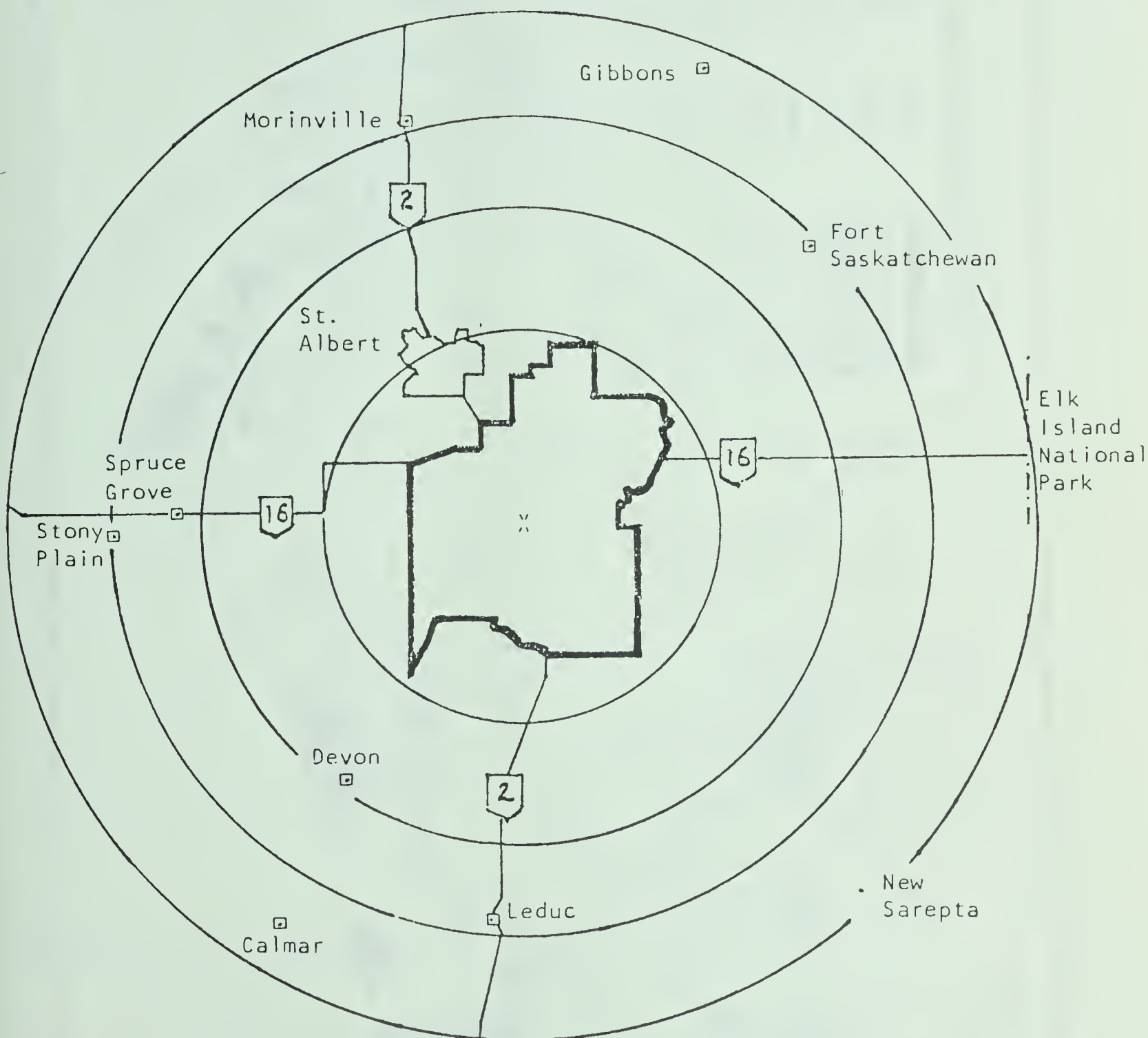
7.2 ← Severe to Total

10.6 ← Moderate to Severe

16.8 ← Light to Moderate

22.5 ← Insignificant

THERMAL DAMAGE FROM SURFACE BURST
REPRESENTATIVE 10 MEGATONNE - EDMONTON



KILOMETERS FROM GROUND ZERO (X)

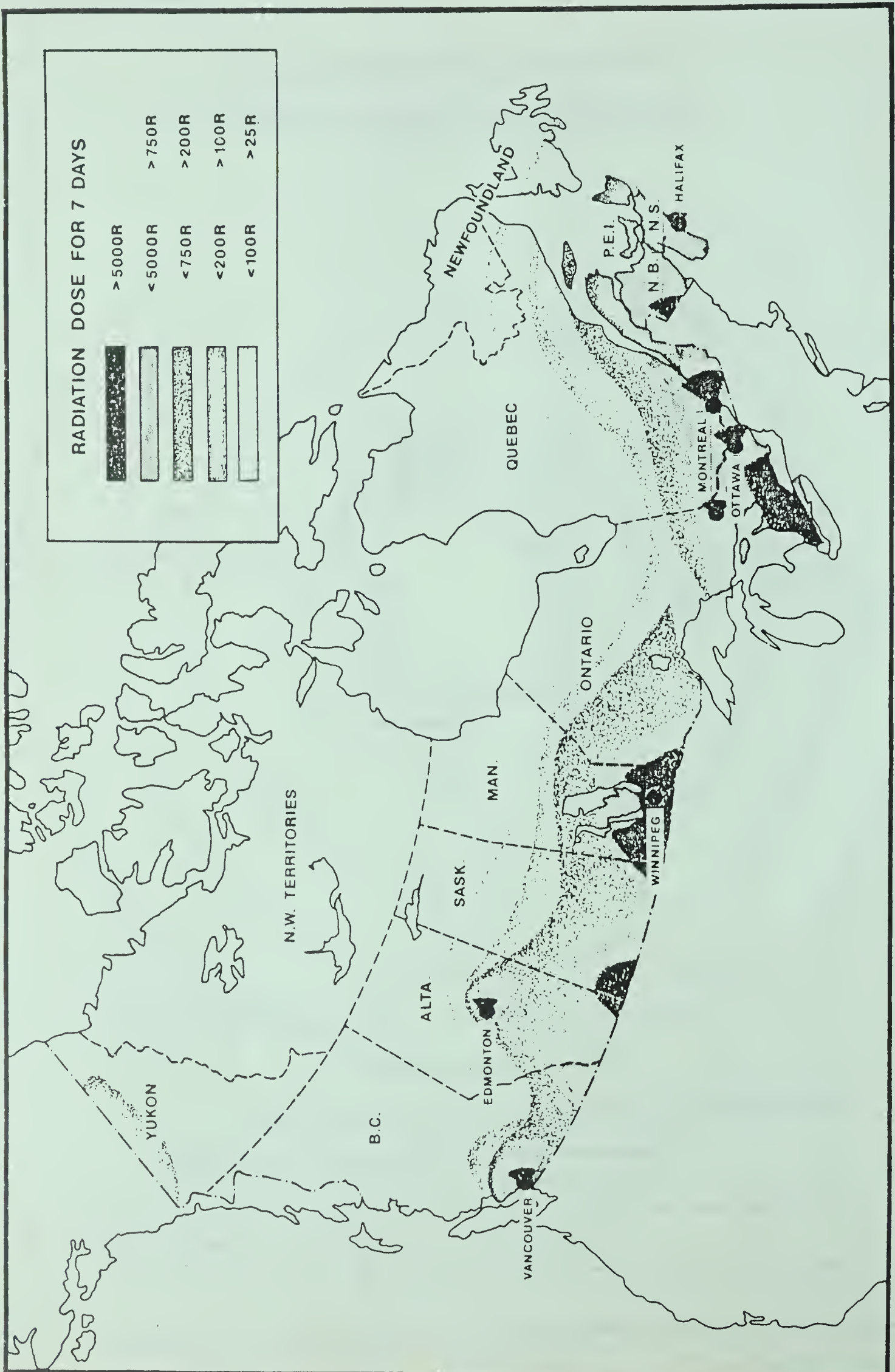
EFFECTS

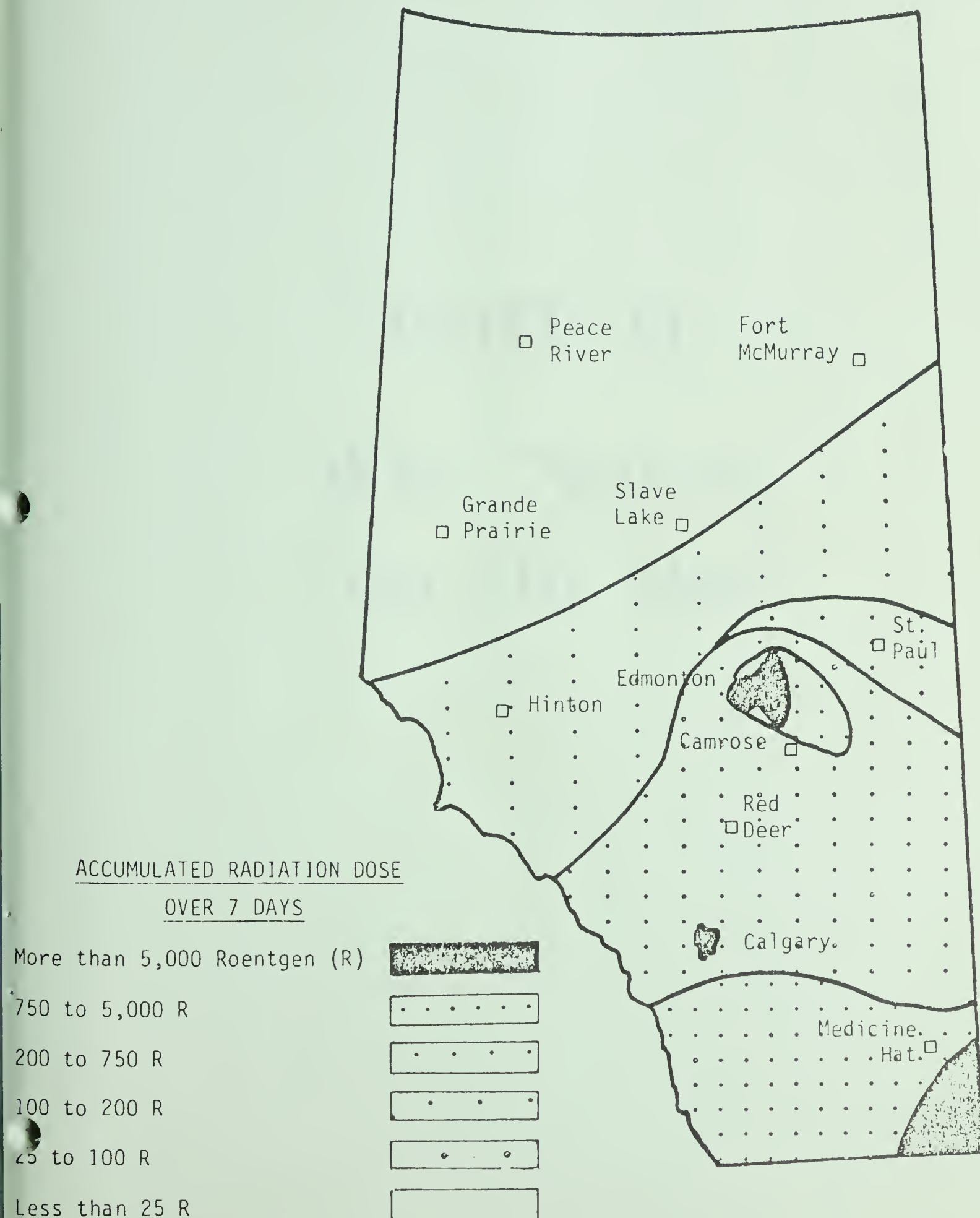
15.2 ← Direct Ignition of Houses

24.0 ← Direct Ignition of Tinder and Rubbish

30.4 ← 2nd Degree Burns to Bare Skin

38.4 ← 1st Degree Burns to Bare Skin



REPRESENTATIVE RADIATION RISK AREAS

PART II

Why Nations Go To War

Overview

Part II deals with the broad concept of conflict. The students examine this concept from the point of view of personal violence and violence between nations, i.e. war. Are the causes of war similar to the causes of personal violence? If students see no problem with a good fight to solve an argument, they might accept that sometimes you need a good war to settle a dispute between nations. This leads to the notion of the justification of violence and war. What reasons can a student give for justifying a fight? Again, if there is such a thing as a "justified fight" does it follow that there is also such a thing as a "just war"?

In this part of the unit, the student will examine the traditional causes of World Wars I and II, and the Arab/Israeli War, and make judgements on the justification of war. Thus, before looking for ways to prevent war, the students will try to reach an understanding of why wars occur.

Student Materials

Class sets are required of most of the materials listed below. Please note that alternative suggestions for use are provided in brackets after some items.

Activity 3

Worksheet II-1:

Research Procedures (page 93)

Activity 4

- Assignment II-2: "What Turns Boys into Vicious 'Goons'?"
(These questions can be dictated or
written on the board.) (page 94)
- Article II-3: "What Turns Boys into Vicious 'Goons'?"
(page 95)
- Study Print II-4: (See page 255, Inside World Politics,
or prepare overhead.) (page 97)
- Article II-5: "Is Man Really a Killer?" (page 99)

Activity 5

- Information Chart II-6: The Causes of War (page 111)
- Information Chart II-7: Causes of World War I (page 112)
- Worksheet II-8: The Treaty of Versailles 1919 (page 113)

Activity 6

- Data Sheet II-9: War Dead, 1939-1945 (page 115)
- Data Sheet II-10: War Deaths 1914-1918/The Price of
Defeat (put on overhead) (page 116)
- Assignment II-11: The Rise of Nazi Germany (page 117)
- Information Chart II-12: Hitler's Beliefs/Feelings (page 119)
- Data Sheet II-13: Hitler's Dreams of Expansion (put on
overhead) (page 120)
- Data Sheet II-14: Germany in World War II (page 121)
- Study Guide II-15: (page 122)
- Article II-16: The Man Who Makes the Nazis Jump
(page 124)
- Article II-17: Boy Shot Escaping Gas Chamber (page 126)
- Article II-18: Albertan To Be Tried for War Crimes
(page 127)

Activity 7

Article II-19:	World War II Speech (make an overhead) (page 128)
Information Chart II-20:	The Just War (page 130)
Article II-21:	The Just War (page 131)
Information Sheet II-22:	Arab and Israeli Justifications (page 135)
Data Sheet II-23:	Arab-Israeli Conflict (make an overhead) (page 136)
Worksheet II-24a:	Causation (page 137)
Worksheet II-24b:	Justification of War (page 138)
Worksheet II-24c:	Personal Criteria for Justification of War (page 139)
Guide for Roleplay II-25:	Crisis in Adanac (page 140)
Article II-26:	(Optional) The Morality of War (page 142)

Activity 8

Article II-27:	Why They Fought (page 147)
Article II-28:	Let's Not Forget - Some Made No Apologies for War (page 148)
Article II-29:	Simple Motives (page 149)
Essay Assignment II-30:	Why Nations Go To War (page 151)

ACTIVITY 3 - RESEARCH PROCEDURESA. Intention

At the conclusion of Part I, the students gained some understanding of the focus issue: "Should we encourage the development of a world government?" The next step is to

develop ways to study and resolve the issue. The purpose of this activity is to involve the students in the establishment of research procedures.

B. Objectives

Skill

- (a) List several items in both columns of the "Research Procedures Worksheet".
- (b) Give supporting reasons for preferred items.
- (c) Contribute ideas in a brainstorming session.
- (d) Assist others in arriving at group consensus.

C. Materials

Worksheet II-I: Research Procedures (page 93)

D. Learning Activities

1. Tell the students that the purpose of this activity is to establish research procedures for collecting information on the "should" question. In order to do this, we have to decide "what we need to know" and "how we will learn it".
2. Divide the class into small groups and tell them they will be required to brainstorm and then develop consensus to complete this assignment.

(NOTE: Students who are not familiar with the brainstorming technique should be reminded that it involves about three minutes of spontaneous idea gathering. All ideas should be accepted by the group and recorded by the recorder/

reporter. After brainstorming they will try to reach an acceptable consensus. This means selecting the best answers by majority consent. In order to achieve group consensus, it is necessary to listen carefully to others and, at times, to argue your position logically.)

Give each student a copy of Worksheet II-1, "Research Procedures", plus one extra for the recorder.

3. Ask each group to share their findings. Compile the information on the blackboard. Develop a class consensus of the essential items in both categories and keep the list for reference.

(NOTE: Perhaps this list could be printed on large sheets of paper and kept on the bulletin board. As the various questions are answered, draw a line through them.)

4. Conclusion

Put into perspective the research stage in this part of the unit for students by presenting the following points:

- (a) We have identified the issue (PART I).
- (b) We have now identified the general research procedures and will do our research (PARTS II and III).
- (c) PART IV will be a review and summary of the information gained.
- (d) In PART V we will answer the "should" question.
- (e) In PART VI we will consider the possibility of acting on our decision.

ACTIVITY 4 - THE CONCEPT OF CONFLICT

A. Intention

This activity will attempt to develop an understanding of the concept of conflict. Different kinds of conflict situations will be examined, from personal violence to war. The students will be asked to compare these conflict situations. Can we get a deeper understanding of war by examining our feelings towards personal violence? Also, can we justify personal acts of violence? Students will be asked to judge whether certain conflict situations can be justified. The student's view of the justification of conflict is fundamental to his whole attitude towards war and peace.

B. Objectives

1. Value

- (a) Express personal feelings about violence in selected situations.
- (b) Analyze attitudes towards violence by inferring the value positions of others.
- (c) Indicate personal value preferences with respect to two opposing values, patriotism and respect for life, as demonstrated in a selected situation.

2. Knowledge

Describe several examples of violence to illustrate the concept of conflict.

3. Skill

Gather appropriate information from readings to support opinion on violence and conflict.

C. Materials

1. Assignment II-2: "What Turns Boys into Vicious Goons?"
(page 94)
2. Article II-3: "What Turns Boys into Vicious Goons?"
(page 95)
3. Study Print II-4: (See also page 255, Inside World Politics, or prepare for overhead.) (page 97)
4. Article II-5: "Is Man Really a Killer?" (page 99)

D. Learning Activities

1. Read the following portion of the article "What turns boys into vicious 'goons'?" to the class:

"Two players in the Midget C division, a big 16-year-old and a much smaller 15-year-old, got into an altercation. Nothing much came of it but, under minor hockey rules, the penalty for fighting is banishment for the remainder of the game.

So, the two were sent to their respective dressing rooms where, of course, they were alone.

The big one took off his equipment and put on his street clothes. Then, he went into the opposition dressing room and viciously beat up the other kid. The smaller boy was cut for numerous stitches, 18 of them inside the mouth. Happily, the period ended, the victim's teammates arrived just as the attacker was about to leave and he suffered a broken thumb battling his way out."

Calgary Herald, February 7,
1979.

Discuss the following with your students:

- (a) Do you think this is a true story?
- (b) Can you recall a similar story from your experience in sports?

- (c) When I read this article, how many of you were:

(NOTE: List these choices on the board before counting hands.)

_____ shocked?	_____ indifferent?
_____ amused?	_____ disgusted?
_____ angered?	_____ other reactions?

Ask several students if they would support their preference with reasons. (NOTE: Do not pressure students to answer. As the teacher, you should maintain an objective attitude.)

- (d) Assume you are the league president. What action would you take toward:

- (i) the 16-year-old?
- (ii) the 15-year-old?
- (iii) the 15-year-old's teammates?
- (iv) the coaches?

- (e) Is there a difference between the fight on the ice versus the fight in the dressing room? List the similarities and differences on the board and ask students to support their answers.

Example:

similarity: same two kids in a fight
 differences: first fight on the ice in the context of a
 hockey game
 second fight off the ice and not part of the
 game

Do students tend to justify the first fight but not the second? Why? Does the context of violence matter or is a fight a fight no matter where and why? Generally explore these open-ended questions with your students.

2. Give each student a copy of Article II-3: "What Turns Boys Into Vicious 'Goons'?". Have students read it and answer questions in Assignment II-2. Discuss the assignment in class after students have answered the questions individually.
3. Review: We have looked at the concept of conflict through violence in hockey. Now we will look at two examples of conflict in a war setting, one real and one hypothetical. The context of the conflict situation is different but the focus remains on the personal level.
 - (a) Examine Study Print II-4 and answer the accompanying questions.
 - (b) The preceding activities should raise the general question of the individual soldier's responsibility for an act of violence. At what point does a "soldier" refuse to follow an order? (Of course, it would be very interesting to invite a military spokesman to discuss this dilemma with your students! Students might also

examine some literature on the Nuremburg trials if sufficient interest warrants the digression.)

- (c) Have the students read Article II-5, "Is Man Really a Killer?", and do the accompanying questions. (See p. 110)

(NOTE: Alternative Strategies)

- (i) General class discussion asking several students to present their work and justify their choices.
- (ii) Small group activity to develop a consensus which is then presented to the whole class.
- (iii) Develop a class consensus on each by "averaging" the results.
- (iv) Have students explain their choices on paper.

E. Evaluation

Evaluation for this activity should be concerned with testing student understanding of the concept of conflict. One way to do this is to bring a variety of articles from newspapers, magazines and books that illustrate the concept of conflict. These can be categorized in sub-groups such as personal violence, group violence, civil war and war between nations.

(Sample) BULLETIN BOARD DISPLAY

Major concept: CONFLICT

Personal violence	Violence in sports	Conflict between groups	Wars, civil wars

This should be a continuing class activity and thus individual marks would not be assigned. Later in Part II of the unit, the concept of co-operation will be developed and a similar bulletin board display will be recommended.

ACTIVITY 5 - CAUSES OF WAR: WORLD WAR I

A. Intention

This activity will focus on the causes of war by looking at a specific case study - World War I (1914-1918). The case study will also serve to extend students' understanding of the concept of war. World War I introduced a new dimension to this concept, that of "total war". Thus warfare in the 20th century is now broadly differentiated between "total" and "limited" wars.

B. Objectives

1. Value

Evaluate the vindictive nature of the Treaty of Versailles in terms of basic human motivations and needs.

2. Knowledge

- (a) Show that World War I exemplifies the concept of "total war".
- (b) Trace the development of the Triple Alliance and Triple Entente.
- (c) Explain the difference between single and multiple causation hypothesis.
- (d) Identify the main points contained in the Treaty of Versailles.

3. Skill

- (a) Decide which causes best explain the outbreak of World War I.
- (b) Infer points of view of writers and statesmen from their writings and sayings.

C. Materials

- 1. Feder, B., Viewpoints in World History, Litton Educational Pub., Inc., New York, c1974, pages 377-378.
- 2. Roselle, D. and Young, A., Our Western Heritage, Ginn & Co., Lexington, Mass., c1976, pages 383-390, 403-406, 398-403.
- 3. Information Chart II-6: The Causes of War (page 111)
- 4. Information Chart II-7: The Causes of World War I (page 112)
- 5. Worksheet II-8: The Treaty of Versailles (page 113)

D. Learning Activities

- 1. Background to World War I (1914-1918):

World War I was the first major conflict of the 20th Century. It was also the first "total war". (The other example - World War II, 1939-1945 - will be studied next.)

What is total war? Perhaps after we study both wars you will be able to answer this question. One description of a total war such as World War I is to look at the scale of conflict:

Scale of Conflict

Item 1: Total forces raised in World War I

Russia	15,000,000
Germany	13,250,000
France	8,000,000
Britain	5,000,000
U.S.A.	4,700,000
Others	<u>20,000,000</u> (approximate)
TOTAL:	65,000,000

Source: Preston, R.A., and Wise, S.F.
Men in Arms, Praeger Pub., New York,
 c1970. page 246

Another description is the scope of the conflict. Examine a World Map (1914) which shows the colonial possessions of the European powers to make the point that the conflict was worldwide. Note that Canada participated as a member of the British Commonwealth. Add to this that the estimated cost of the war per day was \$123,000,000 between 1914-17 and \$244,000,000 per day in 1918! (See: Rogers and Clark, Inside World Politics, page 246.)

World War I was a conflict between two groups of nations: the Triple Alliance versus the Triple Entente.

- (a) On a blank outline map of Europe (1914), have the students identify the members of both alliances. (See: Feder, Viewpoints in World History, page 388.)
- (b) Study pages 382-383 of Roselle and Young, Our Western Heritage, and complete the following questions:

- (i) How did William II of Germany antagonize both Russia and England?
- (ii) Look at a map of Europe and note the locations of France, Germany and Russia. Give reasons why Germany should be concerned about a Franco-Russian alliance.
- (iii) List the major steps in the evolution of the Triple Entente.
 (Example: 1891, 1894 Defensive Alliance - France/Russia
 1904 Entente Cordiale - England/France
 1907 Agreements - England/Russia)

2. The Causes of the War

- (a) Use pages 383-390 of Roselle and Young, Our Western Heritage, to complete Information Chart II-6.
- (b) Study Chapter 1 of Stoessinger, Why Nations Go to War, and do the following:
 - (i) List the major events which led to the outbreak of war.
 - (ii) Summarize the author's hypothesis that the "absolutely crucial" cause of war was the "perceptions of statesmen and generals" (page 27). In your opinion, does this interpretation adequately explain the cause of World War I?

(NOTE: See page 377 of Feder, Viewpoints in World History, for a quick reference of the main events leading to World War I.)
- (c) Study pages 394-399 of Feder, Viewpoints in World History, and complete Information Chart II-7, "Causes of World War I", to identify the way various historians have explained the cause(s) of World War I.
- (d) (Optional) Study pages 403-406 of Our Western Heritage

by Roselle and Young and complete the questions found on page 406.

3. Multiple and single cause hypotheses:

Some historians such as Gustavson claim that no single cause can adequately explain an historical episode. Thus an event like World War I has many causes. On the other hand, Stoessinger claims that one basic cause can explain the outbreak of the war. Ask the students to review their work on the causes of World War I and decide if the multiple causation hypothesis more adequately explains the causes of World War I than Stoessinger's single cause hypothesis.

(Alternative procedures: Small group reports to class, or, individual short essays stating the preferred hypothesis with supporting reasons.)

4. (Optional) Events of World War I:

If students are strongly interested in pursuing a study of the events of World War I and if time permits, organize a research activity. Have the students develop a list of research topics and then choose one, conduct their research and report to class. This could be done individually or in groups. Possible topics could include:

- (a) use of propaganda
- (b) famous battles, e.g. Vimy Ridge, Somme
- (c) technological developments, e.g. submarines, tanks
- (d) trench warfare

(e) the Schlieffen plan

(f) air aces, e.g. Billy Bishop, Baron von Richthofen

Encourage students to use their creative imaginations in preparing reports to the class. Stress the use of charts to show battle statistics, large illustrated maps to show the Schlieffen plan, pictures with captions to show the war aces and scale models to illustrate trench warfare.

5. Have students complete Worksheet II-8; The Treaty of Versailles. (NOTE: Answers are as follows.)

<u>d</u> Woodrow Wilson	<u>g</u> Scheidemann
<u>a</u> Lloyd George	<u>f</u> General Smuts
<u>e</u> Marshall Foch	<u>h</u> Erzberger
<u>c</u> Colonel House	<u>b</u> Clemenceau

ACTIVITY 6 - WORLD WAR II

A. Intention

World War II (1939-1945) is the second example of the concept "total war". The primary focus of this case study is more on the nature of the conflict rather than an examination of causes. A study of this conflict should show that it was thought of as a just war with the "good guys versus the bad guys" and that the destructive potential of man seems to know no bounds. There is a kind of logic and natural continuity between World War I and II. That is, the seeds of World War II are found in World War I. Are the seeds of World War III already planted?

B. Objectives

1. Value

- (a) Appreciate the extent of man's inhumanity to man from selected World War II case studies.
- (b) Express concern for the victims discussed in the case studies.
- (c) Make value judgements on the validity of Nazi beliefs and on the question of war crimes.

2. Knowledge

- (a) Identify information showing that World War II was a "total war".
- (b) Describe the rise of Nazi Germany based on selected sources.
- (c) List six points which summarize the theory of Nazism.

3. Skill

- (a) Provide reasons for or against the question of war crimes.
- (b) Interpret information maps.
- (c) Infer reasons explaining statistics found on information maps.
- (d) Identify points of view expressed by various members based on readings.

C. Material

- 1. Feder, B., Viewpoints in World History, Litton Educational Pub., Inc., New York, 1974. Pages 428-432, 435-438, 439-460.

2. Roselle, D. and Young, A., Our Western Heritage, Ginn & Co., Lexington, Mass., 1976. pages 454-462, Chapter 25.
3. Data Sheet II-9; War Dead, 1939-1945 (page 115)
4. Data Sheet II-10; War Deaths 1914-1918/The Price of Defeat (put on overhead) (page 116)
5. Assignment II-11; The Rise of Nazi Germany (page 117)
6. Information Chart II-12: Hitler's Beliefs/Feelings (page 119)
7. Data Sheet II-13: Hitler's Dreams of Expansion (put on overhead) (page 120)
8. Data Sheet II-14: Germany in World War II (page 121)
9. Study Guide II-15: (page 122)
10. Article II-16: The Man Who Makes the Nazis Jump (page 124)
11. Article II-17: Boy Shot Escaping Gas Chamber (page 126)
12. Article II-18: Albertan To Be Tried for War Crimes (page 127)

D. Learning Activities

1. Using Data Sheet II-9, have students study the scale and scope of the conflict of Total War.
 - (a) What is there to show that the conflict was worldwide?
 - (b) What data shows that the casualties were generally greater than those of World War I?
 - (c) List five nations with the largest number of military deaths.
 - (d) Give reasons, if you can, to explain why 90% of the deaths in Poland were civilian.
 - (e) Which nations had no civilian deaths? Why?
 - (f) Which allied nation suffered the worst casualties?

2. Involve students in an examination of the background to World War II. To what extent was World War I a beginning for World War II?

(a) In many ways the Treaty of Versailles, 1919, was an underlying cause of World War II. Using Data Sheet II-10 as an aid, present the following to the class for their consideration:

- (i) Germany was forced to take the blame for World War I. And, since Germany was to blame, she was forced to pay for the war! The reparation payments to the allies crippled the German economy.
- (ii) Some of the richest German territory was given away or occupied; for example, the Saar and Ruhr areas.
- (iii) Questionable political divisions such as the Polish Corridor which cut East Prussia from Germany, the free city of Danzig and the large Sudeten German population inside Czechoslovakia were to remain contentious issues.

In summary, the Treaty of Versailles was a "victor's peace". Germany was crippled and humiliated by it and receptive to demagogues like Hitler who promised to tear up the treaty and restore German greatness.

- (b) Have students study the rise of Nazi Germany to draw relationships between Nazi appeal and the impact of the Treaty on Germany. Provide Assignment II-11, "The Rise of Nazi Germany", to help guide student research.
- (c) Present the following background information to the class about Hitler's book, Mein Kampf. To what extent were Hitler's political beliefs shaped by a "crippled Germany"?

After the Beer-Hall Putsch of 1923 Hitler was sent to prison where he spent his time in relative comfort writing a book called Mein Kampf. The content of the book was so unbelievable that most people who read it simply dismissed it as the work of an obscure crank. When Hitler gained power, the book became mandatory reading in Germany and it rivaled the Bible as a best-seller. Like the Bible, it occupied a place of prominence in the home, but was seldom read. Yet, the philosophy expressed in Mein Kampf became the foundation of Nazi Germany.

- (i) Assign Information Chart II-12, "Hitler's Beliefs/Feelings", to assist students in understanding Hitler's personality.
- (ii) Use Data Sheet II-13, "Hitler's Dreams of Expansion", as a basis for discussion of quotations from Mein Kampf.
- (iii) Ask the class if they can determine Hitler's preference for war or peace based on these quotations.

3. (Optional) The outbreak of war:

(a) Have the students research the following historical events which led to the outbreak of World War II:

- (i) Re-occupation of the Rhineland (1936)
- (ii) Anschluss (1938)
- (iii) Munich Agreement (1938)
- (iv) Nazi-Soviet Pact (1939)
- (v) Invasion of Poland (1939)

In each case they should proceed as follows:

- (i) Identify the historical setting of the event.
- (ii) Explain the event.
- (iii) Summarize the significance of the event. In what way did it lead to World War II?

Possible sources:

- (i) Feder, Viewpoints in World History, pages 435-438.
- (ii) Roselle and Young, Our Western Heritage, Chap. 25.
- (iii) Stoessinger, Why Nations Go to War, Chap. 2.

(NOTE: Any other texts which deal with the historical period.)

- (b) Read Chapter One of Liddell Hart, The History of the Second World War, and compare his interpretation of why the war occurred to the previous interpretations. Do you agree with Liddell Hart that England was mostly to blame for the outbreak of World War II? Support your opinion.
4. Introduce students to the nature of World War II with a brief overview of statistics. You may wish to make available Data Sheet II-9, "War Dead, 1939-1945", for quick reference.

Present the following:

The Second World War was a low point in man's inhumanity to man. Data Sheet II-9, "War Dead, 1939-1945", shows some strange statistics. For example, two million Russian soldiers died while they were prisoners. Over five million Jews were murdered and three million Polish civilians died as compared to only 107,874 French civilians.

- (a) To enlarge upon this, present Data Sheet II-14, "Germany in World War II".
- (b) In order to provide more depth, assign reading of Viewpoints of World History, pages 439-453, and the completion of Study Guide II-15. Also study and discuss Articles II-16 and II-17.

NOTE:

This section on Nazi crimes and the question of guilt needs to be handled with sensitivity to student feelings. Some of the material might be too emotionally charged for some students and classes, thus the teacher should be selective. This question becomes even more important if supplementary media is to be incorporated. A film such as Memorandum by the National Film Board would be very effective in this section but can be emotionally jarring.

ACTIVITY 7 - THE CONCEPT OF A JUST WAR

A. Intention

Activity 6 ended with the question of war guilt. Who was responsible for World War II? While many blame Germany for World War I, few historians blame Germany for World War II. Some historians, such as Hart, have put the blame on England and the allies for not stopping Hitler's aggressive policies earlier and thus possibly avoiding World War II. However, the consensus of opinion remains that one way or another Hitler had to be stopped.

When is a nation justified in fighting a war? Is there a criteria we can use to judge if a war is justified or not?

The question of a just war is rather important to the notion of peace. If nations can justify their involvement in war they can

justify the need for strong defenses to be prepared for the next "just war". The elimination of war becomes futile as long as nations feel justified in conducting wars against each other. How do nations justify war? The Arab/Israeli conflict will be used in this activity to illustrate the point that in some wars both sides appear justified.

B. Objectives

1. Value

- (a) Appreciate that justifications for involvement in the Arab/Israeli conflict represent two different perspectives of what is "just".
- (b) List personal criteria for deciding if a war is justified or not.
- (c) Judge which participants in a given conflict are justified.
- (d) Infer value positions regarding war from selected speeches and articles.

2. Knowledge

- (a) State the meaning of a just war as held by selected cultures and writers throughout history.
- (b) Outline the causes of the Arab/Israeli wars.

3. Skill

Apply personal criteria of a just war to a hypothetical crisis situation.

C. Material

1. Stoessinger, J.G., Why Nations Go to War, St. Martin's Press, New York, 1978. Chapter 6
2. Article II-19: World War II Speech (make an overhead) (page 128)
3. Information Chart II-20: The Just War (page 130)
4. Article II-21: The Just War (page 131)
5. Information Sheet II-22: Arab and Israeli Justifications (page 135)
6. Data Sheet II-23: Arab-Israeli Conflict (make an overhead) (page 136)
7. Worksheet II-24a: Causation (page 137)
8. Worksheet II-24b: Justification of War (page 138)
9. Worksheet II-24c: Personal Criteria for Justification of War (page 139)
10. Guide for Roleplay II-25: Crisis in Adanac (page 140)
11. Article II-26: (Optional) The Morality of War (page 142)

D. Learning Activities

1. Present Article II-19, "World War II Speech", to the students after providing a brief historical setting.
 e.g. Nazi Germany had just conquered France.
 Europe was now under Hitler's control.
 England was next on Hitler's list.
 (a) Read the speech without comment.
 (b) Give the students the speech and tell them to complete the accompanying questions.

2. Assign completion of Information Chart II-20, "The Just War". Article II-21 will be required as well. When students have completed the chart, attempt to pull together a composite list of criteria which describes a just war historically.
3. Case Study: Arab/Israel 1948-1979
 - (a) Present the following:

In most conflicts it is hard to tell the good side from the bad, objectively. Nations go to war for reasons that are very important at the time. However, viewed from an historical perspective some of these reasons begin to look weak and it becomes easier to assign blame. Perhaps the most troublesome conflicts are those where both sides clearly appear to be right. When each side appears to have a strong and just cause, even wars seldom resolve the differences. After 30 years of bitterness and four major conflicts, the Arabs and Israel remain enemies.

- (b) Have students study Chapter 6 of Why Nations Go To War by Stoessinger and answer the following questions:
 - (i) Analyze the four Arab/Israeli wars from both points of view to establish why each side went to war. Use Information Sheet II-22.
 - (ii) Using Data Sheet II-23, give reasons to support or deny Stoessinger's claim that this conflict is a clash of "right against right".
 - (iii) Assess the role of the super-powers in the Arab/Israeli conflicts. In what ways did they ease the tensions and in what ways did they add to the problems? (Include the role of the "Middle-Powers", Britain and France in 1956.)

(c) Sample Information Sheet II-22 (Teacher Reference)

CONFLICT	ARAB REASONS	ISRAELI REASONS
1948	Palestine in Arab control over 1000 years. Palestine Plan unfair: 570,000 Jews get 55% land and 1.2 million Arabs get 45% land. Massacre of Dier Yassin.	Balfour Declaration 1917. World War II holocaust showed need for a homeland. November 29, 1947, approval of partition. The opportunity to win more territory.
1956*	1 million refugees pressure to return "home". Nationalism of Nasser. Suez intervention by Britain and France. Israeli attack October 29, 1956.	Suez blockade. Restrictions to Gulf of Aqaba. Encouragement by France and Britain. Desire to gain control of Sharm-el-Sheik (access to Red Sea).
1967	Nationalism. Nasser's leadership. PLO. Israeli attack June 5, 1967.	El Fatah raids. Removal of UN peace troops by Egypt. Blockade of Gulf of Aqaba. Nasser's belligerence.
1973	"Legacy of shame" from 1967. Israeli settlements on occupied territory. Diplomatic failures.	Immediate cause: Arab attack. Diplomatic failures to find peaceful solutions.

* For a description of the key role played by Canada see: pages 304-308, Rogers and Clark, Inside World Politics, Macmillan of Canada, Toronto, 1969.

(d) In small groups, have students discuss the problems of war and peace in the Middle East:

- (i) Establish a generalization about the underlying cause(s) of the wars.
- (ii) Suggest two or three solutions that might help both sides resolve their differences.

- (iii) In what way should the U.S.A. and the U.S.S.R. be involved in the Middle East?
- (e) Research the newspapers and periodicals for items about the Middle East. Are peace talks under way? Is war being discussed? What are the U.S.A. and the U.S.S.R. doing about the Arab/Israeli problem? (NOTE: Some information regarding the Egyptian/Israeli peace is found in Appendix D.)

4. Defining the Concept

This exercise attempts to involve students in attaching personal meanings to the concept of a just war. The general steps in this process are as follows:

- (a) Review (if necessary) the causes of World War I, II and the Arab/Israeli conflicts. Complete Worksheet II-24a, "Causation".
- (b) Decide which side was justified in the conflict and state reasons for the choice. Complete Worksheet II-24b, "Justification of War".
- (c) Compile and summarize all the reasons. Complete Worksheet II-24c.
- (d) Use the above information to state and explain personal criteria for deciding if a war is justified. This criteria is the student's definition of the concept "just war".

5. Applying the Concept

- (a) Divide the class into groups of four or five and tell the students they will assume the roles of an "inner cabinet" in Adanac, a country faced with a crisis. They will study the situation, reach a decision and present it to the class.

NOTE: You may wish to spend some time with your students discussing what simulation and role-play involves and what its purpose is. The introduction to the Guide For Role-Play II-25, "Crisis In Adanac", is written to diffuse a potentially sensitive area.

- (b) Distribute copies of the Guide For Role-Play II-25, "Crisis In Adanac" to the class. Allow them sufficient time to read and understand the crisis. Then check to see that they are progressing through the steps outlined.
- (c) When the groups are ready, have each Prime Minister present the decision to the question: "Should Adanac use force against the new state of Burque?" and reasons underlying the decision to the class.
- (d) Use the following questions for debriefing:
 - (i) How many groups decided for war?
 - (ii) What reasons supported the decision for war? Were these reasons consistent with your personal definitions of a just war?
 - (iii) Did anyone go along with the decision for war yet feel that war would not be justified?
 - (iv) Compare the reasons for deciding not to go to war. Why did these students say war could not be

justified? Is their definition of a just war different?

- (v) Is it possible to justify any decision? For example, do you think Hitler felt justified in attacking Poland in 1939? (NOTE: Hitler called this act a "counterattack with pursuit". See page 6, Teaching Youth About Conflict and War, NCSS, 1973.)
- (vi) What if Burke threatened to use nuclear weapons to prevent an invasion? Would the threat of a nuclear war change your decision? Can a nuclear war be justified?

ACTIVITY 8 - WHY NATIONS GO TO WAR

A. Intention

This activity goes beyond the question of why certain wars occurred to the general question of why wars occur at all. The students should understand that the concept of a "just war" is relative. We can "blame" Nazi Germany for World War II but, at the time, Germany felt quite justified in participating in the war. Can you imagine any nation declaring war with no justifying reasons? Edmund Burke said: "Wars are just to those to whom they are necessary." Thus, if you need a war, then it is a just war. The question is, do we need wars?

B. Objectives

1. Value

Express personal feelings about the meaning of Remembrance Day.

2. Skill

- (a) List and explain how four simple motives can cause war.
- (b) Explain Stoessinger's view on the cause of war
- (c) Summarize the main arguments for the heredity and environment positions on the cause of war.
- (d) Use the knowledge gained thus far in the unit to defend a position on the question "Why do nations go to war?".
- (e) Identify attitudes of writers from given articles.
- (f) Identify shared beliefs about heredity and environment as causes of war in small group discussions.

C. Materials

- 1. Moore, J. and R., War and War Prevention, Hayden Book Co., Inc., Rochelle Park, N.J., Chapter 2
- 2. Stoessinger, J.G., Why Nations Go to War, St. Martin's Press, New York, 1978, Chapter 7
- 3. Article II-27: Why They Fought (page 147)
- 4. Article II-28: Let's Not Forget - Some Made No Apologies For War (page 148)
- 5. Article II-29: Simple Motives (page 149)
- 6. Essay Assignment II-30: Why Nations Go to War (page 151)

D. Learning Activities

1. Assign the following articles for reading, with the accompanying questions:

(a) Read Article II-27, "Why They Fought", and answer these questions:

- (i) Why is Remembrance Day on the eleventh hour of the eleventh day of the eleventh month?
- (ii) List the reasons given why Canadians fought and died in World War I and II and Korea (1953).
- (iii) What meaning would you give to the word "foe" in the poem "In Flanders Fields"?

(b) Read Article II-28, "Let's Not Forget - Some Made No Apologies For War", and answer these questions:

- (i) How does this editorial compare with "Why They Fought"? Consider the following:
 - the mood created by the articles
 - the emphasis of the articles
- (ii) Which article more accurately reflects your feelings towards war? Towards Remembrance Day? To what extent do others share your feelings? How do you know?

2. Have students examine motives for war by studying Article II-29, "Simple Motives", and answering the following:

- (a) Was early man more or less aggressive than modern man?
- (b) An individual gets security through the laws of this nation. How can nations get security?
- (c) Explain how each of these simple motives can cause war: fear, greed, pride and hate.
- (d) Read the "Introduction" to Stoessinger's book, Why Nations

Go to War, and compare his view on the cause of war to the view expressed in this article.

3. Have students discuss the two theories regarding the causes of war, heredity or environment, after studying Chapter 2 of War and War Prevention and summarizing the main arguments for the heredity position and the environment position.

(a) Group Discussion Task:

Identify shared beliefs among group members regarding the heredity and environment positions.

(b) Debriefing:

In addition to presentations on what each group was able to resolve, ask each group to comment on the process they went through during the discussion. For example, to what extent were they able to achieve consensus? What efforts were made to persuade others? to compromise with others?

4. Ask students to examine Stoessinger's view of war as sickness. Assign the reading of Chapter 7 and completion of the following questions:

(a) Does the author support the heredity or environment theory of the cause of war?

(b) What is the role of leaders as a cause of war? Do leaders control events or are they controlled by events?

(c) Explain the author's view that "...each war is a misperception or an accident. The war itself then slowly, and in agony, teaches men about reality." (page 233)

(d) The author seems to believe that war begins in the minds of men. Is he optimistic about man's future survival?

5. (Optional) Assist students in extending their understanding of a "just war" by using a communist criterion and a Christian criterion.

(a) According to the following paragraph, what constitutes a "just war" from the Marxist-Leninist point of view?

Communist Criteria:

The Marxist-Leninist doctrine was, and is, that any class struggle leading to war makes that war just; and specifically that "a just war is a non-predatory, liberatory war" which today includes "defensive wars" as well as "wars of national liberation."

page 87, Ramsey, Paul.

The Just War

(b) Study Article II-26, "The Morality of War", by Paul Ramsey and identify the Christian meaning of a "just war".

6. (Optional) Provide students with an opportunity to strengthen their understanding of war using the following assignment.

Select those statements which best suggest total war as opposed to limited war and explain your choices to illustrate your understanding of the two concepts.

(a) "Moderation in war is imbecility". (Macaulay)

(b) "War is politics with bloodshed." (Mao Tse-Tung)

- (c) "War should be the only study of a Prince." (Machiavelli)
- (d) "The right of war, let him take who can." (Rabelais)
- (e) "It is always easy to begin a war, but very difficult to stop one..." (Sallust)
- (f) "It is not by speeches and resolution that the great questions of time are decided...but by iron and blood."
(Bismarck, 1862)
- (g) "War is the statesman's game, the priest's delight, the lawyer's jest, the hired assassin's trade." (Shelley)
- (h) "The joys of battle". (Attila)

Source for (a): Inside World Politics. Macmillan, 1969. p. 243.

Source for (b) to (h): Stevenson, B., The Home Book of Quotations. Dodd, Mead & Co., New York, 1967. pp. 2106-2107, 2171.

E. Evaluation

Assign completion of an essay dealing with the question: "Why do nations go to war?".

1. Upon distribution of copies of the assignment "Essay Assignment II-30: Why Nations Go to War", discuss briefly each of the essay statements. The intention here is to assist students in generating ideas, not in directing their thoughts. Such a discussion will also help to clarify the assignment.
2. Then, ask students to list some qualities of a good essay.

In class discussion, use this list as a basis for establishing marking criteria. If 20 marks are to be awarded, how much will each criterion be worth? When this has been established, students may begin working individually on the essay.

WORKSHEET II-1: RESEARCH PROCEDURES

Teacher's Copy

What Do We Need to Know?	How Will We Learn It?
<p>(Sample Answers)</p> <p>Terms/concepts such as World Government, war, conflict, co-operation, peace, etc.</p> <p>What are the basic causes of war?</p> <p>Are there alternatives to war?</p> <p>What is the experience of war and peace in the 20th century?</p> <p>Would people accept the notion of world citizenship over national citizenship?</p> <p>What alternatives are there that might effectively ensure peace?</p>	<p>(Research Procedures)</p> <p>Readings and texts in class provided by teacher.</p> <p>Individual/group research in library or community.</p> <p>Films and other media.</p> <p>Guest speakers if available on selected topics.</p> <p>Lecture/discussions by teacher.</p> <p>Sharing information by students (e.g., reports).</p>

WORKSHEET II-1: RESEARCH PROCEDURES

Issue: "Should we encourage the development of a world government to ensure peace?"

Instructions:

1. Select a recorder/presenter for each group.
This person will:
 - (a) record brainstorming ideas
 - (b) record consensus ideas
 - (c) present the consensus ideas to the class
 - (d) act as chairperson for the group
2. Brainstorm answers to the questions:
 - (a) "What do we need to know about the issue?"
 - (b) "How will we learn it?"
3. Develop a consensus on each of the questions.
4. (Recorder/presenter) Present the group findings to the class.

What do we need to know about the issue?	How will we learn it?

ASSIGNMENT II-2

"What turns boys into vicious 'goons'?"

Answer the following without discussion:

1. What penalty was assigned to the 16-year-old player?
What was the coaches' reaction to the penalty?
2. What penalty would the author like to see for this kind of violence? Do you agree with the author?
3. Where does the author put the blame for this kind of violence in minor hockey? Do you agree with his assessment?
4. If you were to try to solve the problem of violence in hockey where would you begin?
 - (a) with the players?
 - (b) with the coaches?
 - (c) with the parents?
 - (d) with the NHL?Give reasons for your choice.
5. According to the article, how does the NHL promote violence in hockey? Is violence one of the cherished values in the sport of hockey?

ARTICLE II-3

What turns boys into vicious 'goons'?

The Minor Hockey Association of Calgary recently kicked a 16-year-old out of hockey for the remainder of this season and put him on probation for next year.

In my view, they were entirely too lenient. The kid should have got life.

The incident occurred during National Minor Hockey Week which, of course, is supposed to be an exercise in sportsmanship and fellowship.

Two players in the Midget C division, a big 16-year-old and a much smaller 15-year-old, got into an altercation. Nothing much came of it but under minor hockey rules, the penalty for fighting is banishment for the remainder of the game.

So, the two were sent to their respective dressing rooms where, of course, they were alone.

The big one took off his equipment and put on his street clothes. Then, he went into the opposition dressing room and viciously beat up the other kid. The smaller boy was cut for numerous stitches, 18 of them inside the mouth. Happily, the period ended, the victim's teammates arrived just as the attacker was about to leave and he suffered a broken thumb battling his way out.

For the life of me, I can't understand why criminal assault charges weren't filed. If they had been, that kid would have stood trial as an adult in adult court, since he is 16.

And, for the life of me, I can't understand why the disciplinary committee of the Minor Hockey Association let the assailant off so easy. His team had only a handful of league games and maybe a few playoff contests left this season. Add to that the possibility of some exhibition games and maybe a tournament or two. Not nearly a long enough suspension although, if you can believe it, the kid's coach protested that it was too severe.

Fighting on the ice is bad enough. Carrying it over into the dressing rooms, the arena concourse or the parking lots is totally unforgivable. That's when real trouble can occur. As a matter of fact, it was just such a situation that led to a 16-year-old being kicked to death in a parking lot in Ontario a few years ago. Any kid who causes trouble after he gets off the ice should get an automatic three-year suspension, minimum.

A calculated, vicious assault such as this one should be treated even more harshly.

Earlier this year, a couple of juvenile players (aged 17 and 18) were booted out of hockey for a year each for hitting referees. If it's anything more than a push, that, too, should be dealt with more harshly.

★ ★ ★

Actually, I'm not altogether sure that the kids are totally to blame.

Ever since they were old enough to watch television, they've seen NHL thugs eulogized for doing things on the ice that they'd be thrown in jail for if they did them on the street.

Most guilty of all, perhaps, are the league spokesmen who insist that bare-knuckle brawling is all right in a game — a sport — "because the boys have to let off steam."

Those most loathesome of all professional athletes, "policemen" if they're on your team, "goons" or "animals" if they play for the opposition, get more publicity, more interviews and often more money than teammates who play the game properly and score the goals.

The sad thing right now is that Tiger Williams and Dave Hutchinson, the two most penalized players in the NHL and two of the crudest, play for Toronto, so our kids see them and their kind on television a lot.

Williams, a borderline minor-leaguer at best in my opinion, earns a cool \$100,000 per year for demonstrating to little boys each Saturday night how violent, vicious disregard for the rules and other people's teeth can get you a much bigger annual salary than we pay our prime minister. (Don't bother to tell me Williams scores 19 or 20 goals a season. My poodle would get at least 12 goals a year if she played on a line with Darryl Sittler and

Lannie McDonald.) A few seasons ago, when that suspended 16-year-old was in his formative years, he was no doubt watching Dave Schultz and the other Philadelphia goons prove that you could win a Stanley Cup if you could intimidate the opposition thoroughly enough.

And, who knows what kind of coaching he had through the years, or what kind of attitudes he picked up from the adults who watched him play at the "tyke" and "tiny-mite" level? A woman told me of a mother watching a tiny-mite (age 9 and 10) game during minor hockey week, yelling to her son, "Step on him, he's small enough."

I told you recently about a midget league in Quebec that has had six games called before they were due to end because of parents fighting in the concourse.

It turns out that there have been two such cases this winter right here. A similar incident occurred recently in Airdrie.

A couple of years ago, the police had to be called to the Shouldice arena to break up a brawl during a kids' hockey game. Two fathers started to fight and almost immediately their wives got into a knock-down, drag-out battle.

Now, what do you suppose is the attitude of their children toward violence in hockey — or anyplace else?

Pat McMahon
Calgary Herald,
February 7, 1979.

STUDY PRINT II-4



When Saigon was attacked by bands of Viet Cong guerillas in January 1968, a Viet Cong commander was captured in civilian dress and brought to the police chief of the city. This picture shows the police chief executing him on the spot. When he was asked why he did so, the chief said that many of his people had been killed by the Viet Cong.

Rogers & Clark, Inside World Politics, p. 255.
Copyright Canadian Press Picture Services.

Police Chief:

South Vietnam "soldier"
supported by U.S.A. and
allies.

Viet Cong Commander:

North Vietnam "soldier"
supported by communist
bloc nations.

STUDY PRINT II-4 (continued)

1. Do you agree this act is an "execution"? Or is it murder? Defend your choice. Explain the implication of using one term over another.
2. On the following value continuum, identify where you think the police chief would be and where your preference is:

Patriotism

versus

Reverence for Life



x - Police Chief

o - You

3. What reasons do you think the police chief might give to justify this act of violence?

ARTICLE II-5

Is Man Really a Killer?

from Execution

by Colin McDougall

(This section from the novel Execution concerns Canadian army operations in Sicily in 1943. With the enemy resisting the Americans to the east and the British to the west, the Canadians seize the chance to smash through the enemy centre. As the advance develops, Italian units of the enemy forces break up and desertions mount. At the same time, because sniping attacks on the Canadian forces become serious, orders are issued to shoot enemy deserters as suspected snipers. Contrary to these orders, Lieutenant John Adam, of Number Ten Platoon, adopts two Italian soldiers. Having discovered this breach of discipline, Adam's commanding officer, Major Bazin, orders the Lieutenant, Sergeant Mitchell, and Private Jones to escort the prisoners to Battalion Headquarters.)

Battalion Headquarters was in a stone farmhouse. Major Bazin went inside to find Lieutenant-Colonel Dodd, and left Adam standing in a sprawling, cobble-stoned courtyard, crowded with men and vehicles. At one end a picket gate led into a barnyard; from there a pungency of fresh manure flowed forth to flavour the afternoon air. The sun felt like a flat weight, heavy and pressing.

Adam watched while his two charges sat on the cobblestones, leaned their backs against a wall and lighted cigarettes which Jonesy - for whom this had turned out to be a wonderfully exciting outing - was quick to provide. Adam kept one eye cocked on the door which Major Bazin had entered, and strolled round the courtyard looking for any news which might affect Ten Platoon's immediate fortunes.

He picked his way between parked trucks and carriers until he came to a stop beside the Signals jeep. He knew this would be the likeliest place to wait. He nodded to the sergeant who was listening on the Brigade set.

In this courtyard there was no urgency of time; instead there was a sense of lazy well-being and relaxation. In one corner some men brewed a steaming tin of tea. A few yards away from Adam a hairy sergeant, stripped to his underwear shorts, was sitting down to shave; between scrapes of his razor he hummed a tune in complete self-absorption. Adam could not put a name to the tune, but the melody was one that he knew well and it eddied through his mind.

Across the courtyard Adam saw that his two Italians had become the centre of attraction. Men crowded round curiously, staring, pressing on them cigarettes and chocolate bars. Jonesy was a proud master of ceremonies; he was explaining how the two had been named big Jim and little Joe.

"Well, Joe - wadda ya know?" called one of the soldiers.

Little Joe rolled his eyes comically; he made a quick circling gesture with thumb and forefinger. Both of them were sitting erect now, alert, laughing, smiles flashing from their teeth; anxious to please in any way they could. They understood and would go right along with this kidding. It was the same in any army, they knew: there were always the jokes which were not so much intended to be funny as to serve as a kind of greeting, or a wry acknowledgement of shared discomfort. There was always the incessant marching and countermarching, then the waiting while one of the officer-gods decided what to do with them next. They were thoroughly familiar with all this. They much preferred their young Tenente to the horse-faced Maggiore who had brought them here; they would much rather be back eating "M and V" with Ten Platoon; but for the present it was pleasant to sit here in the sunshine and smoke tailor-made

cigarettes, and talk and laugh a little. Their little suit-case lay on the cobble-stones before them; soon they would be told to pick it up and go to some other place, and in due course - if God was willing - they would even reach their distant homes in Italy one day.

Now it was big Jim's turn to vie for the onlooker's approval. He thumped his balled fists hard upon his chest. "Canadese - buona!" he declaimed, and he made as though to stuff a chocolate bar, paper wrapping and all, down his throat.

Adam saw that Sergeant Krebs of the Regimental Police had strolled over and was now looking down at the pair. Krebs was a big man, almost too fat to ride his motor cycle; and he had no friend in the Battalion. He stood watching the two Italians sourly and his glance fastened on big Jim's chocolate bar. "Yeah," Sergeant Krebs observed. "Better eat it while you can."

"Cut it out, Krebs - they're my prisoners."

Sergeant Mitchell elbowed his way into the group, his glance cold and hard on Krebs' fat face.

Adam clambered to his feet; but before he could move toward the prisoners the lean, agitated form of Padre Doorn was bustling round him. The Padre's gaunt face was filled with immense concern. He plucked at his friend's arm. "I just heard about this, John," he said. "Is it serious? Is there anything I can do?"

"Hell, no," Adam replied. "All I want to do is get rid of these two goons and get back to my platoon."

Sergeant Mitchell now had a space cleared round the prisoners. As soon as Adam approached the two Italian youths jumped to their feet and stood at quivering positions of attention. Jonesy stood up with them, but as usual several seconds too late. Brooding, Adam regarded his three charges. "Oh, sit down," he said at last. "Every damn one

of you is more trouble than you're worth."

Then he heard his name called. He turned and saw Captain Ramsay, the Adjutant, standing by the Signals. As he started back he heard the Padre open a laboured conversation in Italian while more chocolate bars appeared in his hand. But Adam's main concern at the moment was how his platoon was faring with only Corporal Fowler in charge. He wanted to get back to them.

Since Major Bazin was still inside the farmhouse with the C.O. he asked Captain Ramsay about this. "You'd better wait," Ramsay replied. "The C.O. is sending your two Wop friends to Brigade. I've just put the message on the air - "

"Sir!" The Signals Sergeant had his earphones off; his voice crackled with urgency. "Bring Sunray to set!"

"Hell," said Ramsay. He wheeled about and started to run toward the farmhouse door.

"Sunray" was the code name for a unit commander. This meant that the next highest Sunray - the Brigadier - wanted to speak to Colonel Dodd personally. Adam walked round to the far side of the jeep. He stationed himself as close to the crackling earphones as he could get.

Colonel Dodd emerged from the house at a slow march of dignity; he made a point of not hurrying his pace. He wore a studious, concentrated look on his face, as though to denote he was only temporarily coming away from more urgent business to which he would presently return. At last he came to a halt at the jeep, adjusted the earphones on his head, and picked up the microphone. "Sunray Two Baker on set," Colonel Dodd announced firmly, after clearing his throat.

Adam was close enough to see the flecks in Colonel Dodd's eyes, to observe the vertical bob of his prominent Adam's apple. He was close enough also to hear the powerful voice which now rattled the diaphragms. "I do not choose,"

this voice crackled loudly, "to be bothered with administrative detail when I am fighting a battle. Shoot these deserters at once. And bloody well smarten up if you wish to keep your command. Report when my order is carried out."

The Brigadier had violated wireless security. An enemy monitoring set would recognize this message at once as an order from Brigadier to Battalion Commander. The Brigadier considered, of course, that wireless, like other procedures, was devised for him, and not the reverse.

Colonel Dodd stood with the microphone in his hand as though he was holding a deadly serpent. "Wilco" was the only answer allowed him; after gulping for several seconds he forced his words out, and made the breach of security complete. "Wilco, sir," Colonel Dodd replied.

With exaggerated care the Colonel placed the microphone down on the hood of the jeep. He walked on stiff legs round the front of the jeep where he paused, as though surprised to see so many soldiers filling the courtyard. Everyone at once looked away from him; each person pretended to be busy with whatever he had been doing before. Even the Sergeant who had been shaving picked up his razor again, although this time he hummed no tune. The Colonel had his own lips puckered slightly as though he might take up humming himself. He rocked back and forth on his heels, looking at everything and everybody. His glance passed over the two prisoners, still grouped with the Padre and Jonesy, touched momentarily upon Major Bazin, Sergeant Mitchell, Lieutenant Adam, and all the others in the courtyard, continuing panoramically, without pause and without recognition. The sun was even hotter now, pressing flatly on the cobble-stones, expanding upward and outward, to fill the space with thick humid silence. Lieutenant-Colonel Charley Dodd, the insurance broker from Toronto, looked around the Sicilian courtyard

for an eternal moment of silence. Then his heels came flat on the ground. He cleared his throat with great vigour.

"Mister Adam." The Colonel's voice undoubtedly sounded louder than he had intended.

"Sir?"

Adam stepped forward, tommy-gun still slung at his shoulder.

"These two deserters you captured - you made a mistake which you will now remedy. Shoot them at once!"

The silence became hollow, like a huge emptiness waiting to be filled. For this moment Adam could not speak, nor could anyone else. The glance of every man in the courtyard flashed instinctively to the two Italians, still sitting on the cobble-stones. Both now leaned alertly forward, the smiles fallen from their olive-soft faces; they knew that something important concerning themselves was under discussion.

Adam flashed a glance of wild appeal toward Major Bazin. "Sir?" he stammered; and Major Bazin stepped forward to his side. "Sir!" he protested angrily.

But Colonel Dodd looked at a point somewhere between their shoulders. There was no bottom to the depth of silence which overflowed the farmyard. A tremendous weight of reluctance, a slow heavy burden of unwillingness settled down on each person's shoulders. It had now penetrated to every soldier in that place, with the possible exception of Rifleman Jones, that the two Italians were going to be executed, and that within a matter of minutes. And this thought required some preparation in their minds. Perhaps this was a reasonable and not unusual demand in war, perhaps the same thing was happening all along the front. But they were still new to war - this was something new in their experience. They had seen some of their friends die, of course, but that had been in the midst of explosions or the

angry lash of machine-gun fire - not in a lazy, sun-filled courtyard. This might be a matter of military necessity, this farmyard affair might have to be done; but they did not like it; their unwillingness was almost palpable in the sun-drunk silence. Big Jim and little Joe sat nervously on the cobble-stones; the worst part for them must have been the way no one would meet their questing glances.

The first look of shock had passed from Adam's face. He stood, white and trembling, at attention before Colonel Dodd. Full cognizance of the order he had received cleaved him, and left him incapacitated like a gigantic wound. He watched with dream-like fascination while Major Bazin spoke in the Colonel's ear. Ramsay too had stepped forward and the three of them whispered together urgently. He watched each one glance at him in turn as the discussion went on. Adam was thinking, with desperation: Is there any way out? Have I the guts to refuse the order? Or - he was shameless now - is there anyone else I could stick with the job? Mitchell? Could I ever look Mitchell in the face again?

The discussion ended; the three officers drew themselves up. Then Sergeant Krebs was standing before them. Adam's presence seemed to be forgotten. He swayed slightly and he closed his eyes.

"Listen, Krebs," Colonel Dodd was saying, "I want to get this thing over with as quickly as possible. March them into the barnyard and do it there."

"Yes, sir."

Sergeant Krebs saluted. There was no change of expression on his beefy jowels. It was as though this was the sort of normal order which he might expect to receive in the course of the day. He wheeled about and started across the cobble-stones toward the two prisoners. The fingernails of his right hand scratched lightly against the revolver case strapped to his side.

There was a sudden flurry of motion. The lean, agitated figure of Padre Doorn came bounding past Krebs, to halt impetuously before the Colonel. The Padre's face was alive with his feeling; all that he had ever been, or ever might be, was posted on his face as though affixed to a bulletin board, and subject to the same public injury. The Padre was open and defenceless; he looked fragile, as though his being might easily shatter into nothingness.

"Sir," the Padre said, his eyes burning candles on the Colonel's face. "Are you really going to shoot these two boys?"

"Yes," said Colonel Dodd, looking beyond him. "Do you wish to provide spiritual assistance?"

Padre Doorn choked with the force of his outrage. "That would be mockery - "

"In that case, Padre - kindly get the hell out of the way!"

The Padre stood in anguish, his fists balled at his side. Then he turned his head slightly and saw his friend Adam. Their glances locked: they shared a long, aching moment of examination. Then the Padre's gaze dropped to the ground. He looked at the ground as though he would never again wish to look toward heaven.

Sergeant Krebs had the prisoners on their feet now; he forced them before him over the cobble-stones. The two boys looked frightened; their feet were clumsy and uncertain as they walked. Little Joe held the suit-case clenched tightly in both fists. They cast quick glances behind them; once big Jim stumbled and almost fell. The most frightening part must have been the grim faces everywhere they turned, the glances that slid away and refused recognition. Sergeant Krebs prodded them on, and now he had his revolver drawn.

When they came abreast with the officers in the centre of the farmyard a voice spoke. It was Colonel Dodd, the insurance broker from Toronto, trying to reduce the affair to a mere matter of soldierly toughness, to inject a note of hard-boiled humour. His voice sounded hoarse, and intolerably ugly.

"You can put the suit-case down, bud," the Colonel said. "You won't need it where you're going."

Little Joe, knowing no English, glanced once toward the voice, clutched the suit-case more tightly to him, and scurried ahead. There was not the least stir of response in the farmyard. It was as though there had been no interruption to the silence; as though the remark had never been made. Colonel Dodd flushed deeper red, his teeth bit into his lip. Adam felt strong fingers grip his arm; it was Sergeant Mitchell who stood beside him.

As soon as they passed through the picket gate Sergeant Krebs fired a shot which hit little Joe in the back. Little Joe squealed with pain. He fell forward onto the manure, the suit-case flew from his hands, and its meagre contents scattered all around him. Big Jim turned about; he went down on his knees, his hands came together beneath his chin as though he would pray - not to his executioner, but, for a moment, to God. Sergeant Krebs fired again and shot him in the shoulder. Then both men were squealing at once; Sergeant Krebs fired his remaining four rounds into their bodies. But they were both still alive, both flopping despairingly in the manure. Sergeant Krebs broke his pistol and began, laboriously, to load another six rounds in the cylinder.

"For Christ's sake."

It was a cry torn from Adam's throat and being. He started to run; as he ran he ripped the tommy-gun from his

shoulder with painful force. He went plunging forward, through the picket gate and into the barnyard. Half a second behind Sergeant Mitchell came charging after him. Mitchell jostled Sergeant Krebs to one side; his hands reached out towards his platoon commander's weapon. But then the summer afternoon was perforated by sharp, surgical bursts of sub-machine-gun fire. Adam emptied his magazine. In the barnyard there were floating wisps of smoke, then silence again. Adam turned about. He tramped back, his boots heavy with manure; Sergeant Mitchell came plodding behind. They halted in front of the waiting officers. For several seconds the entire group remained locked in the same attitude: heavy, immovable, borne down with the weight of sun and thick silence. Colonel Dodd's glance was still fixed blankly on the barnyard.

Adam pulled at the sling on his shoulder and addressed his request jointly to Colonel Dodd and Major Bazin.

"Permission to rejoin my platoon, sir?"

Colonel Dodd made no answer. His eyes were glazed, his breath laboured. At his side Padre Doorn's glance was lowered; he held one hand as a shield over his face. Major Bazin made a silent gesture then. Go on, this gesture and the whole weary length of his face seemed to say: Yes, go on - get the hell back and rejoin your platoon.

Adam and Mitchell about-turned and marched in step across the cobble-stones. Jonesy was waiting for them, his face working with violent emotion; he opened his mouth to speak.

"Come on, Jones," Mitchell ordered quickly. "Fall in behind." Rifleman Jones obeyed. Their boots rang a metal tune on the cobble-stones as the three men marched out of the farmyard.

Out on the road the sun was still shining. Somewhere ahead of them, from the direction of the cemetery, there

came the hollow crump of mortar bombs, the uninterrupted lashing of German machine-guns; it sounded like a counter-attack in force. They marched toward this sound, and toward the approaching night and the German infantry, now attacking.

It was not cold in this sunlight, but Adam began to shiver. He had the impression that formless shapes grouped and squatted and disported themselves at the roadside; and as he saw them the fear came. This was the real fear, quite unlike the momentary pang of terror he had known in the assault boat. This was the sick, vulture fear which chained itself to one's shoulder for ever.

Adam felt violated; as he walked he wanted to cry out for his lost innocence. Fear was wanton at the roadside; and now there was certainly no exhilaration in war. There was only this marching, ever closer, toward fear in the night.

The three men walked on in silence. The battle noises became louder as they drew close to the platoon position.

Jonesy felt saddened and disturbed; but he was not sure why, and he translated his worry into one he could readily understand. "Say," Jonesy remarked. "I hope the boys haven't gone and eaten all that 'M and V'!"

For an instant Adam could actually see the full mess-tin of meat and vegetable stew he had held in his hands a short time before. The thick, meaty taste came like grease to his mouth.

"Shut your stupid trap, Jones." But Sergeant Mitchell did not look his way. Instead, he was watching Adam anxiously. He held one hand below his elbow; he marched close behind him.

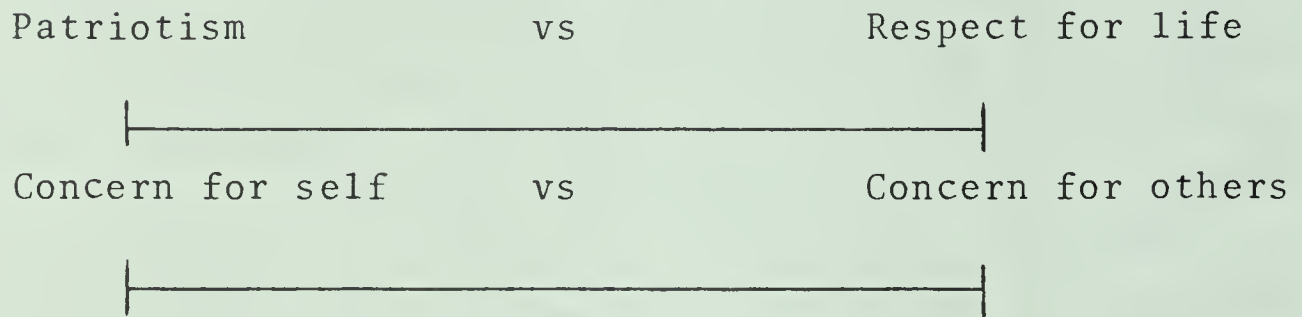
They walked on a few more steps before they had to halt. Then Adam left them. He moved away and vomited at the roadside.

IS MAN REALLY A KILLER?

Questions

Answer the following:

1. Locate the characters of the story on the appropriate point of each value continuum:



B = The Brigadier
 C = Colonel Dodd
 S = Sergeant Krebs
 P = Padre Doorn
 A = John Adam

2. Assume the role of a military judge investigating this incident. Based on the evidence before you, indicate what you would do with each of the participants:

Character	Action
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Brigadier - Colonel Dodd - Sergeant Krebs - Padre Doorn - John Adam 	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Present a medal for "Service beyond the call of duty". 2. Recommend no action. 3. Recommend an honourable discharge 4. Recommend a dishonourable discharge 5. Sentence: 1 year in jail 6. Sentence: 10 years in jail 7. Sentence: 25 years in jail 8. Sentence: Death

INFORMATION CHART II-6

The Causes of War

CAUSE	SUPPORTING REASONS
1. Alliances	
2. Nationalism	
3. Armaments	
4. Imperialism	
5. Diplomatic Errors and Propaganda	
6. The Balkan Crisis	

INFORMATION CHART II-7
Causes of World War I

HISTORIAN	CAUSE(S)	KEY PROOFS
H. E. Barnes		
R. Aron		
E. Ludwig		
G. L. Dickenson		
S. B. Fay		

WORKSHEET II-8
The Treaty of Versailles

1. Study pages 398-403 of Our Western Heritage by Roselle and Young and answer the following questions:
 - (a) Explain the reasons for the German surrender.
 - (b) What is meant by the "stab in the back" theory?
 - (c) Examine Wilson's 14 points (page 400) and state whether you think these were harsh or soft towards Germany. List several examples which show that the 14 points were "idealistic".
 - (d) There is a saying "A victor's peace is seldom lasting". Was this peace treaty a victor's peace?
 - (e) Identify the main points of the treaty.

2. Study the following statements made by these participants in the Treaty of Versailles. Match the speaker with the statement. Decide which statement(s) best describe(s) your opinion of the peace treaty.

(a) "It is a stern but just treaty."	_____	Woodrow Wilson, President, U.S.A.
(b) "The day has come when might and right--terribly divorced hitherto--have united to give peace to the peoples in travail."	_____	Lloyd George, P.M., England
(c) "I should have preferred a different peace."	_____	Marshall Foch, France
	_____	Col. House, Aid to Wilson

- (d) "I think it will be found that the compromises, which were accepted as inevitable, nowhere cut at the heart of any principle; the work of the conference squares, as a whole, with the principles agreed upon as the basis of peace as well as with practical possibilities." _____ Scheidemann, Germany
 _____ General Smuts, British Commonwealth
 _____ Erzberger, Germany
 _____ Clemenceau, Premier, France
- (e) "This is not peace; it is an armistice for twenty years."
- (f) "The promise of the new life, the victory of the great human ideals are not written in this treaty... The real peace of the peoples ought to follow, complete and amend the peace of the statesmen."
- (g) "What hand would not wither that signed such a peace?"
- (h) "Do not expect us to be our own executioners."

DATA SHEET II-9



Total War Deaths, World War II: 26,450,000.

Note the high number of civilian casualties in this conflict. Add to this the almost 6 million Jews killed in World War II. (See page 442 of Feder, Viewpoints in World History.)

Gilbert, Martin and Flower, John, Recent History Atlas, London, England. In Rogers & Clark, Inside World Politics, p. 249.

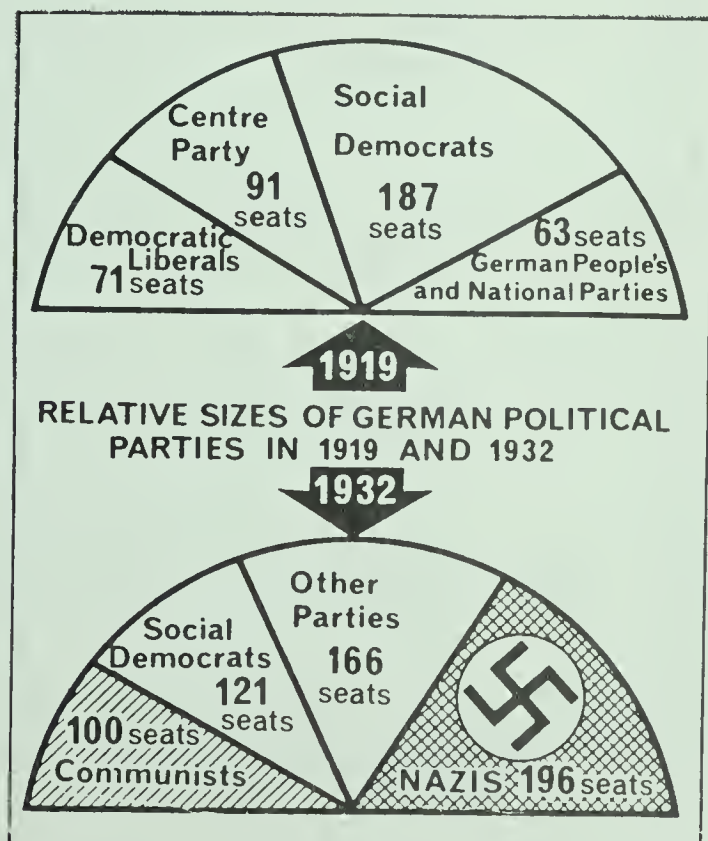
DATA SHEET II-10



ASSIGNMENT II-11 The Rise of Nazi Germany

Study pages 454-462 of Our Western Heritage by Roselle and Young and complete the following questions:

1. Describe the economic conditions of Germany after World War I.
2. Why was there a "widespread fear of communism"?
(page 455)
3. What was the purpose of the Beer-Hall Putsch in 1923?
Who led this Putsch?
4. What was the effect of the 1930's depression on the Nazi party?
5. What kind of people were attracted to the Nazi party?
6. Did the Nazis ever win a majority in any election?
7. What does this chart tell you about:
 - (a) political divisions in Germany?
 - (b) the popularity of the Nazis?



Catchpole, B. A Map History of the Modern World, p. 41.

8. What percentage of the vote did Hitler get in the presidential race, April, 1932? (See page 456.)
9. When did Hitler become Chancellor?
10. Describe the manner by which Hitler passed the Enabling Act, March, 1933. Do you agree that in this manner Hitler became a "Legal Dictator".
11. Summarize the reasons given to explain why so many people supported Hitler.
12. List the six points summarizing the theory of Nazism. Did the Nazis believe in the use of war?

INFORMATION CHART II-12
Hitler's Beliefs/Feelings

Pages 428-432 of Viewpoints in World History has nine references from Hitler's book Mein Kampf. Read each of these references and complete the following retrieval chart:

Reference	Topic	Summarize Hitler's Beliefs/Feelings
1	Democracy	
2	Parliaments	
4	Jews	
5	International Jewish Finance	
6	Equality	
7	German People (Race)	
8	German Race	
9	Use of Force	
10	Propaganda	

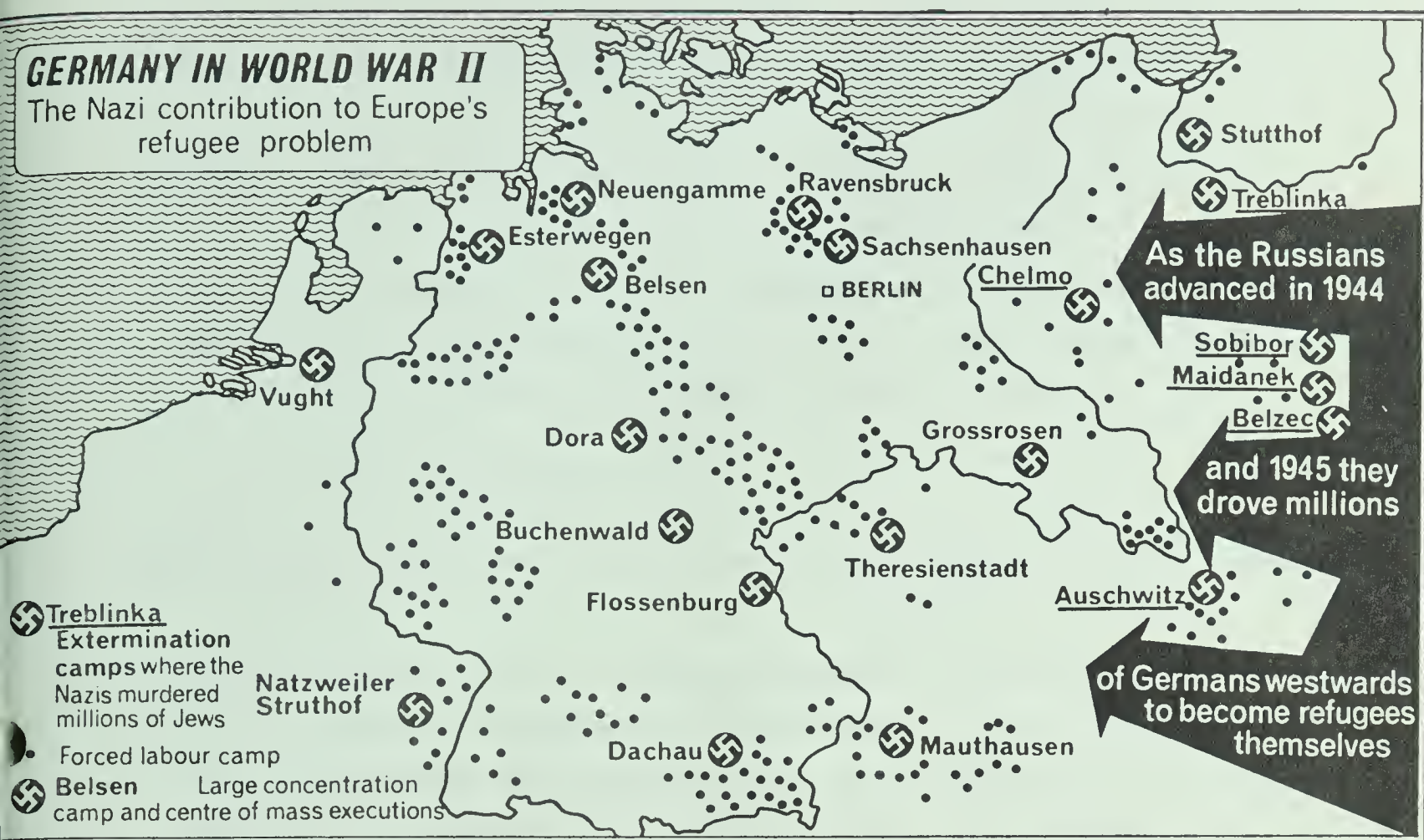
DATA SHEET II-13

Do these quotations from Hitler's book suggest a preference for war or for peace?



Catchpole, B. A Map History of the Modern World.

DATA SHEET II-14



Catchpole, B. A Map History of the Modern World, p. 91.

STUDY GUIDE II-15

A. Read pages 439-453, "The Rise of the Nazi Horror", in Viewpoints in World History. Then answer the following questions:

1. Article 26: What was the "final solution" to the Jewish problem?
2. Article 27: Describe Himmler's attitude towards human life. Does this attitude explain the high civilian deaths in Slavic countries?
3. Articles 28 and 29: What evidence is there to support the claim that the extermination of Jews was a large-scale, systematic and deliberate policy of Nazi Germany?
4. Article 31: What does this article suggest about the role of some highly educated scientists in the mass murder? Is this action understandable if we assume Dr. Rosenthal believed Himmler's statement that non-Germanic people are "human animals"? Do you think these kinds of animal experiments are carried out today?
5. Articles 32-52: Who was guilty? The most lasting impression of World War II is the shock of Nazi atrocities. War is a brutal act of violence and "innocent" people always suffer. But the deliberate and systematic destruction of whole populations by Nazi Germany during the war continues to plague the conscience of the world even today. After the defeat of Germany, many Nazis were convicted of war crimes by the allies. The question of war crimes is very complex, involving legal and moral issues.

Must soldiers always follow orders? Who is guilty, the leaders who gave the orders or the people who carried out the orders? In reading articles 32-52, try to decide who was guilty:

- (a) the Nazi leaders who gave the orders?
- (b) those Germans who carried out the orders?
- (c) all Germans who participated in the war?
- (d) the allies for allowing Hitler to gain such power?
- (e) no one, yet everyone; we are all to blame.

Summarize your reasons in point form supporting your decision.

B. Study Article II-16, "The Man Who Makes the Nazis Jump", and answer these questions:

1. Should Nazi criminals continue to be pursued or is it time to "forgive and forget"?
2. What is Wiesenthal's main objective now? Is this a worthwhile objective?

C. Read Article II-17, "Boy Shot Escaping Gas Chamber", and Article II-18, "Albertan to be Tried for War Crimes".

Do these two articles suggest that the issue of war crimes during World War II continues to be important now? Can you find other examples?

ARTICLE II-16

The man who makes the Nazis jump

A hundred yards or so from the Danube Canal and from Vienna's monument to its victims of the Gestapo in the Second World War, is an anonymous block of flats, with an entrance bearing an uncanny resemblance to an air raid shelter, housing the Jewish Documentation Centre whose director, Dr. Simon Wiesenthal, 68, pursues the relentless activity that has earned him a reputation as the scourge of Nazi criminals who escaped justice after 1945.

There is a closed circuit television camera mounted to the spyhole in the door, and the doorbell on the street is marked anonymously enough for only those who know where they are going to be able to find the way. Vienna is not entirely comfortable about the presence of an active Nazi hunter and the atmosphere has not been improved by the running battle between Dr. Wiesenthal and the chancellor, Dr. Bruno Kreisky, currently being fought out over the head of a Dutch journalist who is being taken to court by Dr. Kreisky for saying in a book that Dr. Kreisky called Dr. Wiesenthal "a Jewish fascist."

Dr. Wiesenthal stopped trying to bring Austrian Nazis to justice three years

ago, after a row of cases had been dismissed. "I'm not a Don Quixote," he says. "They don't want to prosecute Nazis here. There are plenty of other places, such as America and Canada right now, where they will."

A large, humorous man who talks as intensely as he still works, he says he will carry on the work of the Documentation Centre as long as he is physically capable of doing so. He is a very fit man, just returned from a tour of America and from Rome, where he presided over the Sakharov Tribunal, and he has no obvious successor. "I estimate that by 1985 the West German processes will die out," he said, "because by then most of the accused and the witnesses will be dead."

His main objective is no longer solely to bring Nazi criminals to court. He considers that the Documentation Centre's activities in tracking down Nazis in countries where they will not be extradited or prosecuted serves an educational purpose, reminding a younger generation constantly of the dangers of right-wing extremism in particular and all extremism in general. Of Britain's National Front he

says: "All these neo-Nazis wait for political or economic crises, and hope that history will repeat itself." He is particularly angry about historian David Irving's defence of Hitler, since a British historian, he says, is taken more seriously than a German or an Austrian on this subject. "He doesn't know what damage he has done to the minds of young people."

"When we sabre-rattle," Dr. Wiesenthal says, "a man like Mengele doesn't sleep in the same bed for more than a week." Although he cannot get his hands on the former Auschwitz concentration camp doctor Dr. Wiesenthal knows he can make life highly uncomfortable for him and all the others on his records. One thousand one hundred court cases have emerged from his work to date. His international network is searching day

and night. In America this has led to the denationalization and deportation of about 100 former Nazis who escaped from Eastern Europe during the cold war.

Dr. Wiesenthal, a fervent anti-Communist, considers the cold war the root of much evil. "The Nazis in hiding were those who won the cold war," he says. "The only stupid Nazi criminal was one who committed suicide in 1945. The cold war enabled hundreds to emigrate, to simply disappear." The other main postwar error was made by the Jews themselves, he believes. "There were 11,000,000 dead as a result of Nazi persecution," he says. "And we Jews have always referred only to the 6,000,000 of our own people. We should have fought for justice for all 11,000,000. If we had done that we would have found far more allies, but we missed our chance."

There is no such thing as an ex-Nazi, Dr. Wiesenthal says. "National socialism was a religion and a party at the same time. It is soaked into their pores. It demanded something of its members every day, just like Communism. An old Nazi may change his party and his allegiances, but he still carries 80 per cent of his old political baggage with him."

The former Nazis are certainly not old, sick or limited in numbers, he says. They were not the soldiers who fought at the front, but the policymakers behind the scenes. Relatively few of them got killed. Of the 10,000,000 National Socialists at the end of the war,

many of them very young since Nazi policy was directed at involving the younger generation, some 7,000,000 are still alive. According to Dr. Wiesenthal 5,000,000 of these are in West Germany, 1,500,000 in East Germany, where many have become Communists, 300,000 in Austria and the remaining 200,000 throughout the world.

"Take the present leader of the Liberal party here in Austria, Friedrich Peter," he says. "He is 57, at the height of his political career and a self-confessed active former National Socialist."

"I have a great trust in the West German youth of today," he adds. "They are a serious and a sensible generation. The extremists we read about are in no way representative. In West Germany the gap between the generations is larger than elsewhere, and I want to keep that older generation on the defensive as long as they live."

In the endless discussion on the justification of still

prosecuting war criminals — a term Dr. Wiesenthal considers erroneous since Nazi crimes started long before war broke out — his standpoint is clear. "There is no punishment sufficient," he says. "There is a conflict between the letter and the spirit of the law which cannot be resolved. If they are sentenced to death or to life imprisonment most people feel justice has been done. But if, like one man who was responsible for the deportation of 1,100,000 to the gas chambers, they get nine years, then you could say that is equivalent to half a minute's jail per life. Human life is about the cheapest thing there is."

Nazi hunting now, Dr. Wiesenthal believes, has thus both an educational and a judicial function. "I want them to lose their peace of mind and sometimes, like those who are being thrown out of America, all they have built up since their escape. That is also a form of punishment."

(c) London Sunday Times

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Boy 'shot escaping gas chamber'

DUESSELDORF, West Germany (AP) — "When a Jewish boy tried to run away from the gas chamber, she killed him with a pistol bullet in the head."

So testified a Polish woman recently against an Austrian-born former New York City housewife. Her-

mine Braunsteiner Ryan, 58, one of 14 defendants in what might become the longest Nazi war-crimes trial.

Mrs. Ryan is one of five women and nine men accused of murder in the alleged mass shootings, fatal whippings, gassings,

hangings and deadly injections of prisoners at the Majdanek concentration camp in Lublin, Poland, in the Second World War. At least 250,000 men, women and children — most of them Polish Jews — are reported to have died there in 1941-44.

The trial here entered its third year late last month and it is expected to take at least 18 months more before verdicts are handed down. The longest war-crimes trial to date, lasting 3½ years, ended in 1976 with a Hamburg court acquitting a former member of Hitler's elite guard, the SS, of killing prisoners in Nazi-occupied Poland.

At the Duesseldorf trial, the white-haired Mrs. Ryan wept as the Polish woman testified about the shooting of the Jewish boy. Prosecutor Wolfgang Weber said later that her tears were the only sign of remorse shown by any of the defen-

dants in the first two years of the trial.

So far 135 of more than 200 witnesses have testified in the proceedings, which are far behind schedule because of defence requests for postponements and the requirement that all testimony be translated into German.

Some survivors said they suffered such trauma at the camp that they refuse to come to West Germany for the trial. The court is travelling to Poland, Israel, Canada and the United States to take testimony from them.

The Polish and Israeli governments, which represent most of the camp survivors, do not criticize the slow pace of the case.

"This is not a trial of people, but of a system, an organization. We appreciate the in-depth proceedings of the court which leave no omissions," Alina

Sitarska, a Polish justice ministry official, said.

West German newspapers gave extensive coverage to the trial's opening session at the Duesseldorf State Courthouse on Nov. 26, 1975, but newspaper reports have been rare since then.

West German television, however, marked the two-year anniversary of the trial's start by showing a documentary Nov. 27.

Mrs. Ryan was extradited to West Germany in 1973 after surrendering her U.S. citizenship, which she had obtained by concealing her Nazi past.

She is the first resident of the United States to be turned over to West Germany for war-crimes prosecution. The U.S. government has started deportation hearings against several other accused Nazi criminals.

Copyright: Associated Press
in the Calgary Herald,
December 5, 1977.

ARTICLE II-18

By Paul Jackson

(Herald Ottawa correspondent)

OTTAWA — Yugoslavian authorities have set the war crimes trial of Albertan Jakov Bakich for Feb. 26 to March 2 in Titograd.

Bakich, a 66-year-old former Edmonton caretaker, is charged with commanding a Chetnik firing squad during the Second World War and with various other war crimes.

He was arrested in Yugoslavia in May after going back to his native country to visit relatives.

Held in prison for six months while an investigation was conducted, Bakich was told in December that the state intended to press charges against him and put him on trial early this year.

Aside from the charge of commanding the firing squad, he is also charged with breaking the international rules of war, capturing partisans, mistreating prisoners and handing captured prisoners over to either German Nazi or Italian Fascist forces.

Paul Jackson, Albertan to be tried for war crimes, copyright Calgary Herald (February 16, 1979)

(NOTE: Charges against Mr. Bakich have since been dropped (May, 1979). The point of these two articles is to show the continuing issue of World War II "war crimes", and also that people around the world - some in our own backyards - are still faced with these issues in a very real way.)

(The Devil Speaks)

"Have you walked up and down upon the earth lately? I have; and I have examined Man's wonderful inventions - And I tell you that in the arts of death he outdoes Nature herself, and produces by chemistry and machinery all the slaughter of plague, pestilence and famine. The peasant I tempt today eats and drinks what was eaten and drunk by the peasant of ten thousand years ago,.... But when he goes out to slay, he carries the marvel of mechanism that lets loose at the touch of his finger all the hidden molecular energies, and leaves the javelin, the arrow, the blowpipe of his father far behind.

Man and Superman by
Bernard Shaw

Albertan to be tried for war crimes

ARTICLE II-19
World War II Speech
Sir Winston Churchill

Their Finest Hour

What General Weygand has called the Battle of France is over. The Battle of Britain is about to begin. Upon this battle depends the survival of Christian civilization. Upon it depends our own British life, and the long continuity of our institutions and our Empire. The whole fury and might of the enemy must very soon be turned on us. Hitler knows that he will have to break us in this island or lose the war. If we can stand up to him, all Europe may be free and the life of the world may move forward into broad, sunlit uplands. But if we fail, then the whole world, including the United States, including all that we have known and cared for, will sink into the abyss of a new Dark Age made more sinister, and perhaps more protracted, by the lights of perverted science. Let us therefore brace ourselves to our duty, and so bear ourselves that, if the British Empire and its Commonwealth last for a thousand years, men will still say, "This was their finest hour."

Speech to the House of Commons

June 18, 1940

General Patton:

"Compared to war, all events of human endeavour shrink to insignificance."

Questions:

1. According to Churchill:
 - (a) What was at stake in the upcoming Battle of Britain?
 - (b) What will happen if Britain loses?
2. How does Churchill's speech justify British involvement in World War II?
3. Does Churchill's speech support Patton's statement?

INFORMATION CHART II-20

The Just War

- A. Complete the chart below after reading Article II-21.
This assignment is designed to help you understand what a "just war" was historically.

Example	Criteria (What Makes a War Just?)
Old Testament Hebrews	
Ancient Greeks	
Romans	
Hugo Grotius	
Augustine	
Pope Urban II	
Emerich de Vattel	

- B. What criterion appears to be common to all examples?
Do you agree with that criterion?

ARTICLE II-21
The "Just War"

Asoka of India, after having slaughtered 100,000 enemies and taking 150,000 more captive, and after having eliminated all possible rivals to his rule of his expanded empire, became a convert to Buddhism. He renounced war and identified peace as synonymous with righteous governance. He may have been the first, and possibly only, head of state who became a pacifist. In effect, he said it was impossible for war to be just. This first attempt to end war, millennia ago in India, lasted only as long as its creator, although the pacifist elements in Buddhism are still potent forces in Asia.

While defensive war has always been legitimate, the thesis that a "just war" validates killing also has a very long history, and now has been revived by the ideological crusades of the twentieth century. The Old Testament sanctioned war against foreign enemies as a legitimate means of achieving independence, securing the boundaries of the state, and establishing domestic peace and tranquility in order to fulfill the will of God. Indeed, the Hebrews knew that their wars were righteous when they won, but clearly sinful when they lost, since God determined the outcome. Despite this, there was still a **strong feeling** that war was an abomination, a necessary evil. The prophets Micah and Isaiah foretold that war would disappear as man approached God's purposes.

The ancient Greeks also had a concept of a "just war" which included defense against attack and the restoration of peace and order. The Romans also used these standards and included the vindication of justice as a rationale for going to war. But, as Livy said, "to those to whom war is necessary it is just." At various times, under various

heads of state, the Romans tried to distinguish between the innocent and the guilty, and indeed developed a policy that the victor must either exterminate his enemy (as is the case of Carthage) or befriend him - any middle course serves only to irritate him. As a consequence, the Romans offered full citizenship to the conquered peoples, a policy which led to centuries of Roman Peace in the conquered territories, described by Edward Gibbon as a safe but dreary prison.

Writing in the early seventeenth century, Hugo Grotius compiled an impressive list of ancient acts of violence committed against enemies without regard to their civilian status. Grotius deemed these as just, if the war itself had been for a just cause. This concept of the just cause became Christianized Europe's way of dealing with the proscription, in both the Old and New Testaments, against killing one's fellow man. Augustine defined a "just war" as one which was designed to enhance justice and which excluded atrocity, reprisal and vengeance.

When the concept of justice came to include love, some theologians carried this to a bizarre conclusion, arguing that only love was a sufficient basis for making war. Some of the motivation for the Spanish Inquisition was also rooted in the theological perception of love. The love for one's fellow's soul demanded that one do what was necessary to save that soul, even if that meant killing its possessor. A modern counterpart is today often found among those who support wars of "liberation" of the downtrodden, which can result in the destruction and devastation of those they are meant to benefit.

As these theses developed, they were accompanied by efforts by the Church to limit violence in war. Thus the number of days during which war might be waged (the Truce of God and the Peace of God) was regulated, as were the

classes of persons who might legitimately become combatants. But these rules did not apply to ideological campaigns against unbelievers. Thus, when Pope Urban II called for the First Crusade, in the eleventh Century, he urged his listeners to "wrest that land from the wicked race and subject it to yourselves. That land which, as the scripture says, 'floweth with milk and honey' was given by God into the possession of the children of Israel." He ended that famous sermon at Clermont with the words "God wills it." The Crusades failed, but more to our purposes here, the Christian side of that war was waged completely without respect to any of the admonitions and restrictions that had been so slowly built up over the years.

In Europe, with the rise of absolute monarchy, the integration of the nation-states, and the improvement of technology, wars increased both in frequency and cruelty. There was an attempt, after the Thirty Years War, to codify the rules of conduct among nations, and this served primarily to develop further the concept of the absolute sovereignty of the nation-state. It, and it alone, was the final judge of its own conduct.

The nation-state was seen by some (like Rousseau in the eighteenth century) as the ultimate repository of the general will of the people; by others (the German romanticists of the nineteenth century) as a mystical embodiment of the soul of the people. All accepted the right of the state to make war to achieve its ends. Early attempts at describing what international law should be (as by Emerich de Vattel in the eighteenth century) asserted that the right of the state to make war was in harmony with the law of nature so long as the force used was to defend and preserve natural rights, such as self-defense, retaliation against aggression, or punishment of violators of treaties. Since

it is generally accepted among political scientists that all states violate treaties when it is in their interests to do so, such standards allowed each nation to interpret their enemy's violation as a cause for a "just war".

This remained substantially the situation until the first attempts after World War I to create an international organization which would serve to eliminate war. The League of Nations was, as we know, not very successful at that task, primarily since the nation-states lacked basic confidence that any judgment save their own would be in their interests. They refused to surrender any of their sovereignty and retained the right to decide when they wanted to go to war. The United Nations suffers very much under this same handicap, although it has developed a number of international functional organizations which perform many needed tasks.

Nesbitt, W. et al. Teaching Youth About Conflict and War, "The Just War", pp. 7, 8, 9.

INFORMATION SHEET II-22
Arab and Israeli Justifications

1. Complete the following chart:

Conflict	Arab Reasons	Israeli Reasons
1948		
1956		
1967		
1973		

2. Support the following statements:

(a) The Arabs are justified because...

(b) The Israeli are justified because...

DATA SHEET II-23
Arab-Israeli Conflict



WORKSHEET II-24a

Causation

Directions:

Assign a rating to each "cause" according to your interpretation of the relative importance it had in causing each of the conflicts: World War I, World War II and Arab-Israeli.

Use this scale:

5 - major cause of this conflict

3 - contributing cause of this conflict

1 - minor cause of this conflict

N/A - not applicable to this conflict

POSSIBLE CAUSES	SAMPLE CONFLICTS			TOTAL OF WEIGHTING
	W.W. I	W.W. II	ARAB/ISRAELI	
1. Nationalism				
2. Militarism				
3. Ideology				
4. Religion				
5. System of Alliances				
6. Territorial Claims				
7. Leader's Personality				
8. Leader's Misperceptions				
9. Others? (List)				
10. ?				
11. ?				

WORKSHEET II-24b
Justification of War

Directions:

For each conflict below, decide, if you can, which side was justified in their involvement. Then give reasons for your choice.

Conflict	Justified? (Yes, No, Unsure)	Reasons for Choice
World War I 1914-1918	Allies or Axis	
World War II 1939-1945	Allies or Axis	
Arab and Israeli 1948-1973	Arabs or Israeli	

WORKSHEET II-24c

Personal Criteria for the Justification of War

Directions:

1. Transfer your "reasons for choice" from Worksheet II-24b to the appropriate column below.

JUSTIFIED	UNSURE	UNJUSTIFIED

2. Identify the common elements in each group of reasons.

--	--	--

3. In point form, list and briefly explain your criteria for deciding whether a war is justified or not.

GUIDE FOR ROLEPLAY II-25

Crisis in Adanac

Introductory Note:

This scenario was written to help you apply your understanding of the nature of a "just war". The crisis is designed to appear familiar in some aspects in order to make it easier to roleplay. At the same time, however, the crisis is described with generalized qualities which are characteristic of any number of civil conflicts in progress throughout the world today.

Scenario:

Two months ago the Burque Independence Referendum was held. It passed by a narrow margin of 52%. In a previous national referendum, the vote was a strong NO - 82%. Immediately after the narrow victory, the Burque government declared independence. This new state demanded that all citizens either swear an oath of allegiance or leave as undesirable aliens. About one million federal loyalists began active resistance to the new state. The Adanac government refused to recognize the new state of Burque although many nations did, especially France, China and the U.S.S.R. Encouraged by her new powerful allies, Burque began to use her new army against the resisters. Daily reports of mass arrests, riots, bombing sent thousands of people flocking to the borders of neighbouring provinces, Tontoro and New Swick.

The most organized resistance group--the Adanac Loyalists' Army-- has requested the intervention of Adanac arms and troops to help them depose the Burque government and take the Province back into confederation.

Problem:

Should Adanac use force against the new state of Burque?

Roles:

One Prime Minister of Adanac and three or four key cabinet members. This "inner cabinet" must decide in secret whether to send troops or try to negotiate.

Steps:

1. Assign roles to each group member.
2. Discuss the crisis.
3. Reach a decision.
4. Prepare your reasons for the decision.
5. Brief the Prime Minister of your group so that the decision and reasons will be presented as clearly as possible to the class.

ARTICLE II-26
The Morality of War

The western theory of the just war originated, not primarily from considerations of abstract or "natural" justice, but from the interior of the ethics of Christian love, or what John XXIII termed "social charity". It was a work of charity for the Good Samaritan to give help to the man who fell among thieves. But one step more, it may have been a work of charity for the inn-keeper to hold himself ready to receive beaten and wounded men, and for him to have conducted his business so that he was solvent enough to extend credit to the Good Samaritan. By another step it would have been a work of charity, and not of justice alone, to maintain and serve in a police patrol on the Jericho road to prevent such things from happening. By yet another step, it might well be a work of charity to resist, by force of arms, any external aggression against the social order that maintains the police patrol along the road to Jericho. This means that, where the enforcement of an ordered community is not effectively present, it may be a work of justice and a work of social charity to resort to other available and effective means of resisting injustice: what do you think Jesus would have made the Samaritan do if he had come upon the scene while the robbers were still at their fell work?

Now, I am aware that this is no proper way to interpret a parable of Jesus. Yet, these several ways of retelling the parable of the Good Samaritan quickly exhibit something that is generally true about the teachings of Jesus - namely, that by deed and word he showed the individual meaning of being perfectly ready to have the will of God reign and God's mercy shed abroad by his life and actions. These versions quickly exhibit how a social ethic emerged from Christian

conscience formed by this revelation, and what the early Christians carried with them when they went out into the world to borrow, and subsequently to elevate and refine, Stoic concepts of natural justice.

While Jesus taught that a disciple in his own case should turn the other cheek, he did not enjoin that his disciples should lift up the face of another oppressed man for him to be struck again on his other cheek. It is no part of the work of charity to allow this to continue to happen. Instead, it is the work of love and mercy to deliver as many as possible of God's children from tyranny, and to protect from oppression if one can, as many of those for whom Christ died as it may be possible to save. When choice must be made between the perpetrator of injustice and the many victims of it, the latter may and should be preferred - even if effectively to do so would require the use of armed force against some evil power. This is what I mean by saying that the justice of sometimes resorting to armed conflict originated in the interior of the ethic of Christian love.

Thus Christian conscience shaped itself for effective action. It allowed even the enemy to be killed only because military personnel and targets stood objectively there at the point where intersect the needs and claims of many more of our fellow men. For their sakes the bearer of hostile force may and should be repressed. Thus, participation in war (and before that, the use of any form of force or resistance) was justified as, in this world to date, an unavoidable necessity if we are not to omit to serve the needs of men in the only concrete way possible, and maintain a just endurable order in which they may live.

There was another side to this coin. The justification of participation in conflict at the same time severely limited war's conduct. What justified also limited! Since

it was for the sake of the innocent and helpless of earth that the Christian first thought himself obliged to make war against an enemy whose objective deeds had to be stopped, since only for their sakes does a Christian justify himself in resisting by any means even an enemy-neighbour, he could never proceed to kill equally innocent people as a means of getting at the enemy's forces. Thus was twin-born the justification of war and the limitation which surrounded non-combatants with moral immunity from direct attack. Thus was twin-born the distinction between combatant and non-combatant in all Christian reflection about the morality of warfare. This is the distinction between legitimate and illegitimate military objectives. The same considerations which justify killing the bearer of hostile force by the same stroke prohibit non-combatants from every being directly attacked with deliberate intent.

This understanding of the moral economy in the just use of political violence contains, then, two elements: (1) a specific justification for sometimes killing another human being; and (2) severe and specific restrictions upon anyone who is under the hard necessity of doing so. Both are exhibited in the use of force proper to the domestic police power. It is never just for a policeman to forget the distinction between the bearer of hostile force who must be stopped and the "innocent" bystanders (no matter how mixed up they are). He may hit some innocent party accidentally; but it would never be right for him to "enlarge the target" and deliberately and directly kill any number in the crowd on Times Square as a means of preventing some criminal from injurious action. Nor do we allow the police the right to get a criminal's children into their power as hostages and threaten to kill them in order to "deter" him. Yet the source of the justification of such limited use of force is evidently to be found in "social charity". This is clear

from the fact that a man, who in one situation could legitimately be killed if that were the only way to save other lives, would himself in another situation be saved at grave risk to the lives of the very same policemen - i.e. if that man alone is in need of rescue because he has gone off his rocker and is threatening to jump from the ledge of a building twenty stories up.

This is the moral economy which regulates the use of force within political communities, where it is both morally and legally binding. This same moral economy is morally if not legally binding upon the use of force between nations. It will become both legally and morally binding if ever there is world law and order abolishing the nation-state system. War may in fact be more than an extension of politics in another form, but the laws of war are only an extension, where war is the only available means, of the rules governing any use of political power. We are not apt ever to "abolish war" if we keep on denying that there is a morality of war, which is only a concise summary of right and charitable reason in the simultaneous justification and the limitation of the use of power necessary to the political life of mankind.

To summarize the theory of just or civilized conduct in war as this was developed within Christendom: love for neighbors threatened by violence, by aggression, or tyranny, provided the grounds for admitting the legitimacy of the use of military force. Love for neighbors at the same time required that such force should be limited. The Christian is commanded to do anything a realistic love commands (and so sometimes he must fight). But this also prohibits him from doing anything for which such love can find no justification (and so he can never approve of unlimited attack upon any human life not closely cooperating in or directly engaged in the force that ought to be repelled).

This means that nuclear war against the civil centers of an enemy population, the A-Bomb on Hiroshima, or obliteration bombing perpetrated by both sides in World War II were all alike immoral acts of war; and that Christians can support such actions only by dismissing the entire western tradition of civilized warfare that was originally born in the interior of that supreme compassion which always seeks if possible to wound none whom by His wounds Christ died to save. This theory of just and severely limited conflict has guided action and served as the regulative norm for military conduct for nineteen centuries. If a man cannot irresponsibly forsake those who need to be saved from an oppressor, neither can he directly and indiscriminately attack innocent people in order to restrain that same oppressor. If to protect his own children he should resist an aggressor, that gives him no leave directly to intend and directly do the death of the aggressor's children as a means of dissuading him from his evil deeds.

Ramsey, Paul. The Just War, pp. 142-145.

ARTICLE II-27

Remembrance Day

Why they fought

More than half the people in this country have never heard a shot fired in anger.

Their view of a war to end all war is colored in Hollywood Panavision and set out by a scriptwriter's talent.

Those under 30 would have a hard time imagining, let alone accepting, a situation where duty came first. Yet the Canadian men and women who fought on the lines and behind the scenes in three wars were youths themselves. War is for young men, yet to today's youths, Remembrance Day is another excuse for a holiday. It's something out of a history book, something stale and musty and old-fashioned.

Even the notion of placing country before self seems vaguely out of sync with their lives.

We teach our children to recite *In Flanders Fields* without teaching them the meaning. We teach them to observe a moment's silence at the 11th hour of the 11th day of the 11th month without telling them why, only that it is in remembrance of something they cannot, in most cases, relate to. War is something on television, not acts which affect your home. War is news reports from some distant part of the world, and Remembrance Day is old men on street corners selling paper poppies.

The dead cannot talk. They cannot tell us why they would volunteer to be targets.

They cannot tell our children the reason behind their death. But we can. Their reason for going to war may have been "because I thought I had to." But in that statement is a powerful philosophy — the moral obligation of ordinary men to face the

reality that freedom can be taken away, and that the right to self-government must be defended.

Yet the Canadians who fought probably weren't interested in philosophy, or in being heroes. They just wanted to get it over with and go home.

They fought for a reason many young people would find incomprehensible. They fought because they thought it was their responsibility. And 60,000 didn't come home in 1918; 42,000 in 1945 and 300 in 1953.

We have forgotten the horrors of war.

But we have also forgotten the lessons.

And this is the most powerful reason for continuing the tradition of Remembrance Day. It does not glorify war to remember the fallen with honor and gratitude — it is a re-affirmation of freedoms which we have taken for granted.

The Canadian surgeon at Ypres in 1915 — John McRae — didn't write just a poem to be memorized by schoolchildren. He wrote a philosophy which we have forgotten to pass on to our children — that the men who gave their lives in defence of freedom have not died in vain if freedom is vigorously defended, no matter what guise tyranny may take.

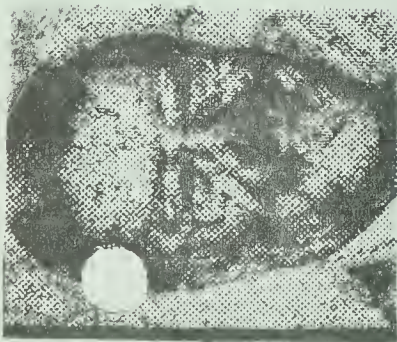
"Take up our quarrel with the
foe:

To you from failing hands we
throw

The torch; be yours to hold it
high.

If ye break faith with us who die
We shall not sleep, though pop-
pies grow

In Flanders fields."



Charles Lynch

Let's not forget — some made no apologies for war

OTTAWA — Was it wrong to have enjoyed the war?

By today's standards of values, assessments and re-assessments, it is at least unfashionable and perhaps barbaric to suggest that the waging of war had its bright side.

Against that, though, is the fact that for many of those who survived combat service on land, sea and in the air, the shared experience remains an emotional "high" unmatched by anything that has happened since.

It is not just the recollection of a sense of shared effort and responsibility, now missing from our self-oriented society.

Nor is it the well-recalled fringe benefits of wartime service overseas — icking in London, Rome, Paris, Brussels, Amsterdam and all the

other places where Canadians were received with at least initial gratitude and affection.

What we are talking about here, in the context of this 60th Remembrance Day, is the zest of combat, felt by so many of our most-decorated heroes — the heady satisfaction of joining battle with the enemy, and defeating or destroying same, and returning home in triumph.

This is an aspect of our assorted war efforts that is little remarked upon, and not mentioned at all in Remembrance Day services, when the emphasis is on the sombre recollection of the fallen, the maimed, and the bereaved to whom, along with those who survived military service intact, the nation pledges perpetual indebtedness.

Yet I recall Governor General

Georges Vanier, his leg shot away and his medals across his chest, revelling a dozen years ago in his recollection of "the guns . . . ah, the guns!" And of hearing from friend and foe how Canadians were regarded as elite troops almost everywhere they fought in two wars, because they were good at it.

These things were the stuff of song and story at the time, just as they are the traditional subject matter of much of world history and the broad literature of war.

We Canadians seemed more inclined to live our great wartime moments than to record and glorify them — hence the fact that we made less of our heroes and their exploits than our allies did of theirs, leaving us with no Montgomerys, no de Gaulles, no Eisenhoweres nor Timoshenkos, nor yet any Rommels.

None of our wartime greats made it to high post-war political office, excepting Vanier, and our memories have tended to congregate in Legion halls, attic trunks and the annual ritual of Remembrance Day on which the deeds we remember become increasingly dim in aging minds and vague in the understanding of those who have only our halting accounts to go by, and are taught less and less in school about the whys and wherefores of what we called our grandest hours.

Lynch, Charles. Let's not forget--some made no apologies for war, in the Calgary Herald, November 11. Southam News Services.

ARTICLE II-29

CAUSES OF WAR • Why do nations risk so much by going to war with each other?

Simple motives

by MAURICE WALSH

AS FAR BACK AS we can go in history, wars have been fought. The warriors of Ur and Lagash fought hand to hand with their enemies. Today, someone may sit deep inside the rock of a mountain, press a button, and unleash destruction on an enemy thousands of miles away. Wars have become more sophisticated, but their basic causes have not changed.

But let's get one thing clear. When we read or hear that Ethiopia is at war with Somalia, it is not the people of Ethiopia that have declared war. The war was declared and is being conducted by the leaders (government) of Ethiopia. The people are only fighting the war. If they had the chance, the people of both countries might probably mingle and communicate on very friendly terms.

Why do countries fight wars?

INSTINCTIVE OR LEARNED?

In the late nineteenth century it was accepted that man had within him, as a part of his "animal inheritance", the instinct to attack and destroy other creatures, including his own kind. Thus, it was normal and natural for men to fight. It was "human nature." Some even looked on war as part of Nature's method of providing for the survival of the fittest.

Modern researchers can find nothing to support such a belief in the inevitability of wars. On the contrary, they say, the more primitive man was, the more peaceable he appears to have been. They believe that our aggression was learned when we moved out from the forests into the plains and were faced with danger from the attacks of many large and fierce animals. Our first reaction, of course, was fear.

Perhaps, like many a child today, someone bent to pick up a stone and hurled it at his attacker. Or, he may have grasped a stick which he used to poke or beat the enemy. To his surprise, this makeshift weapon caused the attacker to slink away.

Man had discovered a new capacity in himself. The next time he was attacked he knew what to do. With growing skill, his original fear turned to anger, and the anger to aggression. Eventually, man became the attacker.

While they deny man's warlike instinct, modern scholars do hold that man has an instinct to survive. In his everyday life, man needed certain things for himself and his family, and later for his

tribe. Among those needs were food, shelter, and self-protection.

To be able to get food it was necessary for him to control the resources of a fairly large area. To do this he might have to drive away other people. If they resisted, he might have to fight them. This was a matter of security, just as the need for shelter where he could take refuge from beasts of prey was a matter of security. To be insecure caused fear, and fear was an unpleasant sensation.

Man will fight for the security of his body, home, food, and territory. He does what he thinks necessary for security. If he feels threatened, he may make the first attack. As he becomes civilized, he looks to the state for security. The selfish impulses of all members are regulated by law and security is assured.

With the state, a new factor has come into the picture. In world affairs, nations are the individuals. But, in international relations there is no authority to correspond to the law within the state. There are, therefore, no checks on selfish impulses. The chief characteristic of a nation is that it has sovereignty. It is master in its own house. There is no one outside its bounds, except a stronger state, that can force it to do anything it does not wish to do.

And nations are led by individuals who have certain ideas of what the nation should be and do. They speak of the "national interest" and mean all those things they believe about the goals of the nation. The national interest may be influenced by insecurity, greed, pride, hate or fear. Any of these motives may lead to conflict. In the modern world, wars seldom result from simple causes. More often those causes form a tangled web.

Let's take a look at how simple motives may cause war.

FEAR

When a nation has powerful neighbours who seem to threaten its security, its leaders may form alliances with friendly nations to increase their power to resist attack. These alliances require each party to come to the aid of the other if it is attacked. So a country may be drawn into war because of an alliance.

As well as forming alliances, the threatened nation may decide to manufacture or buy arms to equip its forces. When it feels sufficiently strong, or if there is a powerful group favouring war, the nation may strike first. If it had waited, there might have been no war at all.

GREED

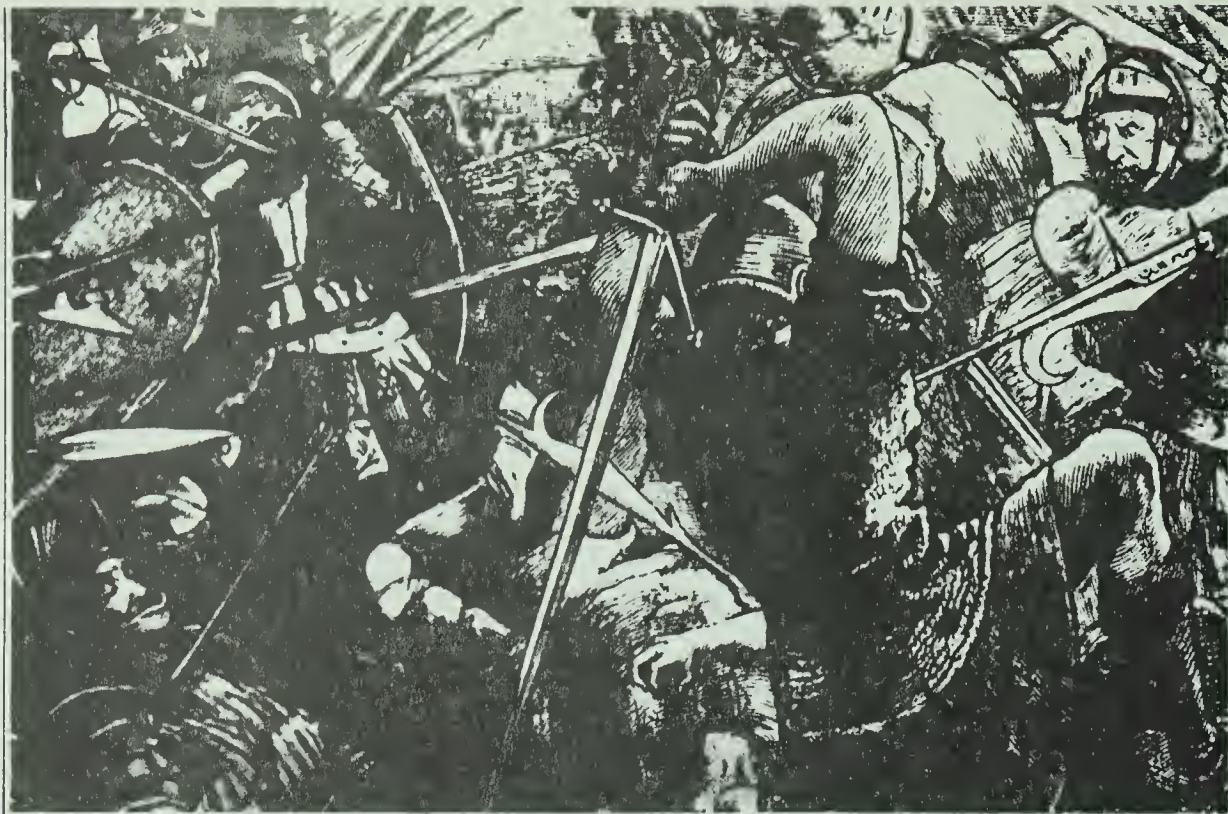
Imperialism, the desire to control more and more land, is often an expression of greed. The desire for conquest is usually not just for land. More often it is for resources, wealth, or manpower. Land is sought for its own sake only when a nation is overpopulated and requires more space for its people. In today's world there is little unoccupied territory, and no nation can add to its possessions without having to fight.

It may also be that, as in earlier days, the warring nation doesn't want any of those things mentioned above. It is only interested in money, and will settle for regular payments from the defeated nation.

In these ways greed, or imperialism, may become a cause of international war. Many parts of the continents of Asia and Africa were seized by imperialist

Under Napoleon Bonaparte, France had conquered a large part of Europe and was threatening Britain's domination of world trade. In 1805, Admiral Nelson defeated a combined French and Spanish fleet of Trafalgar (below), thereby securing British mastery of the sea and her trade.





powers during the nineteenth century. This has resulted in numerous wars of liberation. Where ethnic groups have been dominated by a conquering country, they have tended, in this century, to seek independence and nationhood. The result has been many revolutions and civil wars.

PRIDE

When it expresses itself in extreme nationalism, pride may produce a militaristic state which builds strong armaments and fosters a warlike attitude in its people. Such a situation is almost certain to bring the nation into conflict with others.

A nation which has been important or influential in leadership or economics may see its position threatened by another nation. Reacting jealously to protect its position, it may be led into war.

Pride may also express itself in a desire for revenge. When a nation has been defeated and has lost territory, the desire for revenge may form a large part of the thinking of its leaders. The desire to regain lost territory has been a cause of many wars.

Conviction that its own culture, religion, or value system is the only right one may lead a nation into war. When the Church was powerful in state councils religion was the cause of wars. We can think of the Crusades, and the wars between Catholics and Protestants in Europe.

HATE

Conflicts may be stirred up through old enmities based on culture, religion, or tradition. In most of these cases hate is reinforced by pride. The result is belief that the enemy is "inferior", while the

The price of an alliance can be high. In 1513, England, under Henry VIII, was at war with France. Scotland, as France's ally, invaded England with an army of 50,000. At Flodden Field (above), the Scots were slaughtered in a bloody battle. Among the dead lay the Scottish king, James IV.

nation itself is "superior". Often the enemy is made the object of ridicule and portrayed as a weakling.

Propaganda is another expression of hate. Usually it relies on twisting a small truth into a monstrous lie. It exploits peculiarities such as differences in culture, language, dress, or behaviour. It shows the enemy as a barbarian, a committer of atrocities. When carried to extremes, in times of peace, propaganda may become a cause of war. Usually, however, it is used to create the will to war in a population, and to gain support for war waged for other causes.

All these causes are "in the minds of men". They come from psychological situations and result in thought and action. Many of their results are the consequence of unconscious or deliberate misreading of signals received by individuals. When those individuals are leaders of nations, their resulting goals and actions can come into conflict with those of other nations.

In our world, we have learned that security can be ensured by cooperation with others. So it is with nations. The business of working with others is carried out through diplomacy. In general, cooperation is easy, but when problems arise we negotiate. *We* give a little here; *they* give a little there, and the problem is solved.

But what happens in a situation like that between Israel and Egypt? Egypt

says that Israel must abandon its settlements in the Sinai; Israel says "No way!"

Both Israel and Egypt are hoping that they can continue to negotiate; that perhaps there is an answer to be found if they are patient. But suppose one of the countries was led by an impatient person with a short temper? That might produce demands which set conditions the other country could not meet without losing face. The result would be war.

To sum up, wars between nations are caused by the responses of people (leaders) to the perceived goals and actions of other people (leaders). They are influenced by fear, pride, greed, and hate, and expressed in the various ways we have looked at.

The real causes of war are in the minds of men. We do well to think on the following quotation from a UNESCO report: "The greatest menace to the world today are leaders in office who regard war as inevitable and thus prepare their people for armed conflict. For, by regarding war as inevitable it becomes inevitable. Expectations determine behaviour."

SUGGESTED ACTIVITIES:

1. Discuss the quotation at the end of the article in the context of the West's relationship with the Soviet Union.
2. Discuss the simple motives for war that are outlined in this article. How do they apply to the situation in Quebec today and in history?
3. How do laws restrict selfish behaviour within countries? Is there any way of extending the idea of restricting selfishness to international relations?

Maurice Walsh is a retired school teacher.

Walsh, Maurice, "Simple Motives". From Canada and the World.

ESSAY ASSIGNMENT II-30

Using the information gained thus far, write a 1500-2000 word essay answering the question: Why Do Nations Go To War?

You may choose and defend one or more of the following statements. Pursue any further research you require to defend your position logically.

Essay Statements

- (a) "It's a law of nature. It's part of evolution. It's nature's way of picking out the nations or races that are the best and strongest and are entitled to have power over others, 'The survival of the fittest' Charles Darwin called it."
- (b) War is inevitable because man is an animal. Every animal has an instinct for aggression. It makes birds and beasts and insects and men all want to defend what belongs to them and to take what belongs to others. War is instinctive in all animals, including men. It's a law of nature.
- (c) The real cause of war can be summed up in one word - nationalism. The intense feeling that people have instilled in them in childhood about their own country prevents them from feeling for the whole human race.
- (d) The real cause of war is too many people and not enough food to go around.... When people are overcrowded, underfed and miserable, they become desperate and warlike. If you want peace, you must first lower the birth rate of overcrowded countries through birth control. And you must find ways to increase the world's supply of food and other essential things, and distribute them more evenly.

- (e) The real cause of war is just plain incompetence and stupidity in government. Too many leaders in too many nations are just not fit to govern. It is their mistakes and follies that get us into wars.
- (f) You will never end war. There must be war. For the secret of war lies in biology. Young nations as they grow strong must express their strength through war, as strong young men must express themselves through violence. And as nations grow old and decline, they are sure to be attacked by new rising countries. War is therefore inevitable, for it is part of the biology of empire.
- (g) If you want to know what causes war, study economics. Economic competition of the nations - the struggle to get hold of land, resources, and commercial rights... that's what is at the bottom of war. When two nations are after the same thing and only one of them gets it, the other is likely to fight. That's the way wars begin.

Marks: Total Possible: 20 points.

PART III

How Nations Attempt To Ensure Peace

Overview

Part III focuses on the problem of peace. What are some of the past experiences of nations attempting to ensure peace? Case studies such as the League of Nations and the United Nations should point out some of the problems and prospects of future peace. A variety of ideas and proposals related to the question of peace in the world will be examined. The students will be asked to make judgements on these ideas to facilitate the resolution of the issue in Part V.

Student Materials

Class sets are required of most of the materials listed below. However, the number of copies of each learning package will depend upon the instructional strategy chosen in Activity 9.

Activity 9

Information Sheet III-1:	Alternatives (page 165)
Learning Package III-2:	Collective Security (pages 166-179)
Learning Package III-3:	Mutual Deterrence (pages 180-196)
Learning Package III-4:	Systems of Alliance (pages 197-214)
Learning Package III-5:	International Law (pages 215-225)
Learning Package III-6:	Arms Reduction (pages 226-239)

Activity 10

Information Sheet III-7:	Theories on the Causes of War and Solutions (page 240)
Article III-8:	Satyagraha (page 241)
Article III-9:	Advice to a Draftee (page 244)

ACTIVITY 9 - HOW NATIONS ATTEMPT TO ENSURE PEACE

A. Intention

This activity examines a variety of means by which nations have tried to avoid war and ensure peace. These attempts include: collective security, mutual deterrence, alliances, international law and arms reductions. The students will be asked to evaluate the validity of these alternatives after they have studied them.

Two strategies are proposed for this activity. The teacher will need to decide on a particular strategy and then plan the implementation of this activity. (See Learning Activities.)

B. Objectives

1. Value

Make value judgements about five ways nations have attempted to ensure peace using the universal principals of human survival and dignity as a basis.

2. Knowledge

Give examples demonstrating significant attempts by nations to promote international and global welfare during the Twentieth Century.

3. Skill

- (a) Give supporting reasons for/against the effectiveness of various attempts to ensure peace.
- (b) Assist in presenting orally research findings on alternative ways of ensuring peace.

C. Materials

1. Information Sheet III-1: Alternatives (page 165)
2. Learning Package III-2: Collective Security (page 166)
3. Learning Package III-3: Mutual Deterrence (page 180)
4. Learning Package III-4: Systems of Alliance (page 197)
5. Learning Package III-5: International Law (page 215)
6. Learning Package III-6: Arms Reduction (page 226)

D. Learning Activities

1. Decide upon your teaching strategy for this activity. If you choose the "linear" approach, you will have to determine which materials need to be reproduced in class sets. If you decide to follow the "group work" strategy, proceed with the directions as given.

Of course, variations on the above are possible. For example, individual students could work through one or more learning packages or the teacher could work with some students in a group setting while others work independently.

Finally, if possible, students should be encouraged to look beyond the given sources.



Discuss the notion of "fighting for peace". Does violence have any place in the pursuit of peace?

2. A strategy for examining alternatives:

- (a) Divide the class into the required number of research groups and assign one alternative per group. (For the purpose of this unit, five groups will be required.)
- (b) Each group should be given:
 - (i) an information sheet to be completed by the group
 - (ii) required source materials
 - (iii) a set of instructions
 - (iv) sufficient time to complete their work

(c) Group activity:

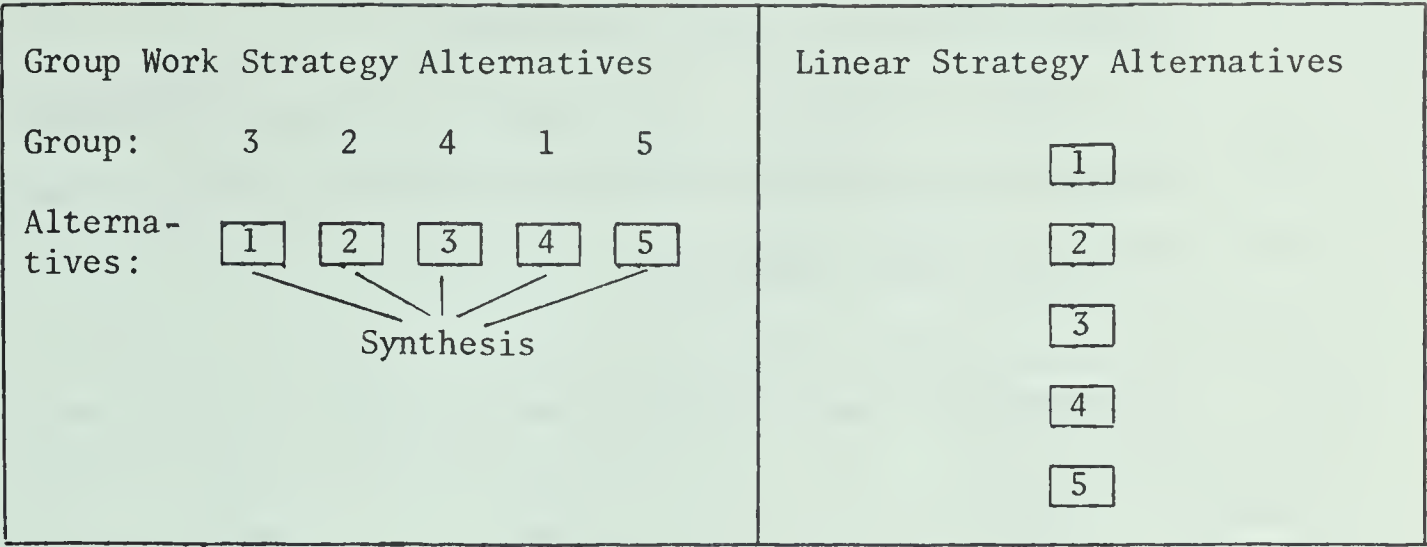
- (i) Assign (or have students select) ONE alternative.
- (ii) Give the groups the necessary materials.
e.g. "Information Sheet: Alternatives", one per student plus one for group.
One package of material (sources) per student in the group.
- (iii) Tell students to follow the instructions accompanying each alternative. (NOTE: This includes answering questions found at the beginning of each source.)
- (iv) Encourage further research and use of additional material. Some alternatives - international law - have only two sources. However, this research activity is not intended to be exhaustive. It is intended to clarify and possibly substantiate student notions and ideas about the complex problem of ensuring peace.
- (v) Groups that complete their task very quickly should work on other alternatives or do additional research on their alternative.

(d) Each group presents their findings to the whole class.

This should include:

- (i) one complete information sheet per student
(NOTE: Either run off the actual student copy OR have the student read the contents for copying by the rest of the class on blank information sheets.)
- (ii) a statement on any particular problems encountered in the group activity: process and/or content
- (iii) elaboration on any points in the information sheet
- (iv) answering any clarifying questions by students or teacher

(NOTE TO TEACHER: An alternate strategy is to follow a linear approach, that is, do each of the identified alternatives with the class. Thus, for example:



Group	Alternative
1	Collective Security: Learning Package 1
2	Mutual Deterrence: Learning Package 2
3	System of Alliances: Learning Package 3
4	International Law: Learning Package 4
5	Arms Reduction: Learning Package 5

Aside from some obvious pedagogical benefits, the "group work" strategy should save a good deal of time. However, you should carefully monitor the exchange of information to ensure that all students share the understanding gained by each group. The student should emerge from this activity with an understanding of all the alternatives.

E. Evaluation: Alternatives to War

1. Information Sheet (group mark)	10 marks
2. Presentation to class (group mark)	5 marks
3. Participation in research (individual mark)	<u>5 marks</u>
TOTAL:	20 marks

Suggested Bulletin Board Organization:

Have the students bring examples of co-operation from current newspapers and periodicals and display them according to the following categories:

<u>Co-operation:</u> How nations attempt to ensure peace					
Collective Security	Mutual Deterrence	Alliances	International Law	Arms Reduction	Others

ACTIVITY 10: TOWARDS PEACEA. Intention

So far we have examined some attempts to ensure peace. What do individuals say about war and peace? More specifically, what do social scientists say about the subject? Perhaps the problems of war and peace require more innovative solutions than those studied in Activity 9.

B. Objectives1. Value

- (a) Evaluate the merits of various theories on the cause of war using the universal principles of human survival and dignity as criteria.
- (b) Decide on the value of military service.

2. Knowledge

- (a) Identify various theories and theorists on the cause of war.
- (b) Describe the various solutions to war proposed by theorists.
- (c) Explain Gandhi's meaning of non-violence.

3. Skill

Interpret an historical article to determine Tolstoy's position on military service.

C. Materials

1. Moore, J. and R., War and War Prevention, Hayden Book Co., Inc., Rochelle Park, New Jersey, 1974. Chapter VI
2. Information Sheet III-7: Theories on the Causes of War and Solutions (page 240)
3. Article III-8: Satyagraha (page 241)
4. Article III-9: Advice to a Draftee (page 244)

D. Learning Activities

1. Have students read Chapter VI of War and War Prevention and complete "Information Sheet III-7: Theories on the Causes of War and Solutions".
2. Discuss the completed Information Sheet III-7 with the students to clarify and correct their information. This exchange of ideas might be done first in a small group before taking up the "answers" with the class.

INFORMATION SHEET III-7: COMPLETED SAMPLE		
Theory and Theorist(s)	Supporting Reasons	Solutions
1. Man's nature Dobzhansky Lorenz	Continuation of man's evolution. Agression is instinctive.	In evolutionary time develop the "faculty" to love all mankind.
2. War is a bad social invention Mead*	Societies exist without war.	Poor inventions are eventually replaced by better ones.
3. Biochemical Freud*	Psychotechnical intervention to change a person's inclination to violence.	Develop and accept the use of drugs.

Theory and Theorist(s)	Supporting Reasons	Solutions
4. Social Environment Allport Sorokin	10 basic principles to avoid war	Change society.
5. Frustration Frank	Man's need to "reach beyond his grasp" (p. 71)	Change our attitudes toward larger goals.
6. Competing Religions Pope John XXIII, Northrup, Wagar, Radhakrishnan, Toynbee	Abuse of religious principles of peace throughout history.	World order based on a world religion.

* For complete articles see: Brook, D. (editor), Search for Peace, Dodd, Mead & Co., New York, 1970.

3. In small groups, or individually, have students decide which theory and solution they find most appealing. Ask them to defend their choice with several reasons. As a class, analyze some of the reasons to help students understand the value positions they hold regarding human survival and human dignity.
4. Involve students in considering the ultimate solution: non-violence.
 - (a) Assign reading of Article III-8, "Satyagraha", and Article III-9, "Advice to a Draftee".
 - (b) Have students answer the following questions for each article and discuss in class:
 - (i) Questions for Article III-8: Satyagraha.

What is the meaning of the term "Satyagraha"?
Describe Gandhi's strategy of non-violence.
Would this kind of strategy be effective today?
Is "non-violent resistance" a contradiction of terms?

- (ii) Questions for Article III-9; Advice to a Draftee,
 Why does Tolstoy advise against ever taking part in military service?
 Do you agree that joining the military service is an immoral act? How does Tolstoy define a moral act? Do you think Tolstoy would be opposed or in favour of capital punishment?
 Is Tolstoy unrealistic? Is he right in your opinion? What would happen if nobody joined the army?

E. Evaluation

Assign the following:

Write a short essay of 150-200 words supporting your choice of the best solution to war from those studied in this activity. Be sure to include the following:

1. description of the solution
2. your interpretation of the universal principles of human survival and human dignity
3. application of your interpretation in defense of your chosen solution

Marks: Total Possible - 5 points:

1. 1 point: concise description of the solution
2. 2 points: clear expression of interpretation (survival and dignity)
3. 2 points: logical application of interpretation in defense of chosen solution

INFORMATION SHEET III-1
Alternatives

<p>1. <u>Question:</u> Is _____ an effective way to ensure peace?</p>	
<p>2. <u>Sources:</u> (a) (b) (c) (d)</p>	
<p>3. <u>Summary:</u> Reasons For</p>	<p>Reasons Against</p>
<p>4. <u>Support for Human Survival and Dignity:</u></p>	
<p>5. <u>Conclusion:</u> Yes: ____ No: ____ Undecided: ____ Supporting Reasons (a) (b) (c)</p>	

LEARNING PACKAGE III-2
"Collective Security"

Sources:

1. Pages 566-571, Viewpoints in World History by Feder.
2. Pages 571-572, Viewpoints in World History by Feder.
3. "The Concept of Collective Security" by Brook.
4. "Namibia", Calgary Herald.
5. "A Historical Essay" by Fenton.

Instructions:

1. Obtain a copy of each source for each member of the research group.
2. Do a group study of one source at a time following the sequence of sources as listed.
3. Complete each question as given with each source and record these in your notebook. The group should share their information and answers.
4. Complete one "Information Sheet: Alternatives" for distribution to the whole class. Be sure to consult your teacher about this.
5. Organize your presentation to the class. Be sure to consult with your teacher when you reach this step.

Source 1

The purpose of the U.N. is "to save succeeding generations from the scourge of war" (U.N. Charter). Evaluate the peace keeping record of the U.N. to determine its effectiveness in reaching that goal.

1. Study pages 566-571 of Feder, Viewpoints in World History, and complete the following summary chart:

CASE	RESULTS	U.N. EFFECTIVENESS
e.g. Iran versus U.S.S.R. 1946	Soviet troops withdrawn	+

Key: + = U.N. Victory

0 = Inconclusive

- = U.N. Loss

2. Using the summary chart, answer these questions:
 - (a) Is the U.N. generally effective or ineffective as a peace keeper?
 - (b) If the U.N. had a large army, could it be a more effective peace keeper?
 - (c) Is the U.N. effective in conflicts involving the big powers?

Source 2

Read articles 24 and 25 of Feder, Viewpoints in World History (pages 571-572), and do the following:

1. Summarize the main points of each article.
2. Defend one of these opposing points of view on the effectiveness of the U.N.

Source 3

The Concept of Collective Security

The following statement in Power and International Relations by Inis L. Claude is a good definition of the term "collective security" as we shall use it:

The concept of Collective Security involves the creation of an international system in which the danger of aggressive warfare by any State is to be met by the avowed determination of virtually all other States, to exert pressure of every necessary variety - moral, diplomatic, economic, and military - to frustrate attack on any State.

Despite imperfections in their machinery, both the United Nations and the League of Nations have theoretically been based on this system. On the other hand, such alliances as NATO and the Warsaw Pact have been founded on principles more akin to balance of power than to collective security. The latter system implies that the entire international community must be allied against an aggressor and requires force for its success, overwhelming force in the hands of the community.

Let us examine a hypothetical case in which the concept of collective security is called into play and functions in accordance with this theory. Suppose that an aggressor state attacks a victim state. The aggressor's armies make deep penetrations into the territory of the victim, and it seems that in a few days all resistance will cease. The victim then appeals to the Security Council of the United Nations. With modern means of communications, the Council is in session within a few hours of the attack. After ascertaining the facts, it decides to act. All members are animated by the desire to stop the aggression; ideological or political ties can not compensate for the fact that the international public law has been broken. An attack against any nation is considered an attack against all states.

(This can be compared to the prevailing situation within a state where a crime against an individual is handled as an offense against the entire community.)

As a next step in the operation of collective security, the Security Council orders the aggressor to retreat to positions behind its own borders. Meanwhile, the commander of a United Nations army alerts his troops for possible action. This force, whose size is overwhelmingly larger than that of any one state, consists of contingents from all the nations of the world. It possesses firepower far in excess of the aggressor's armed forces.

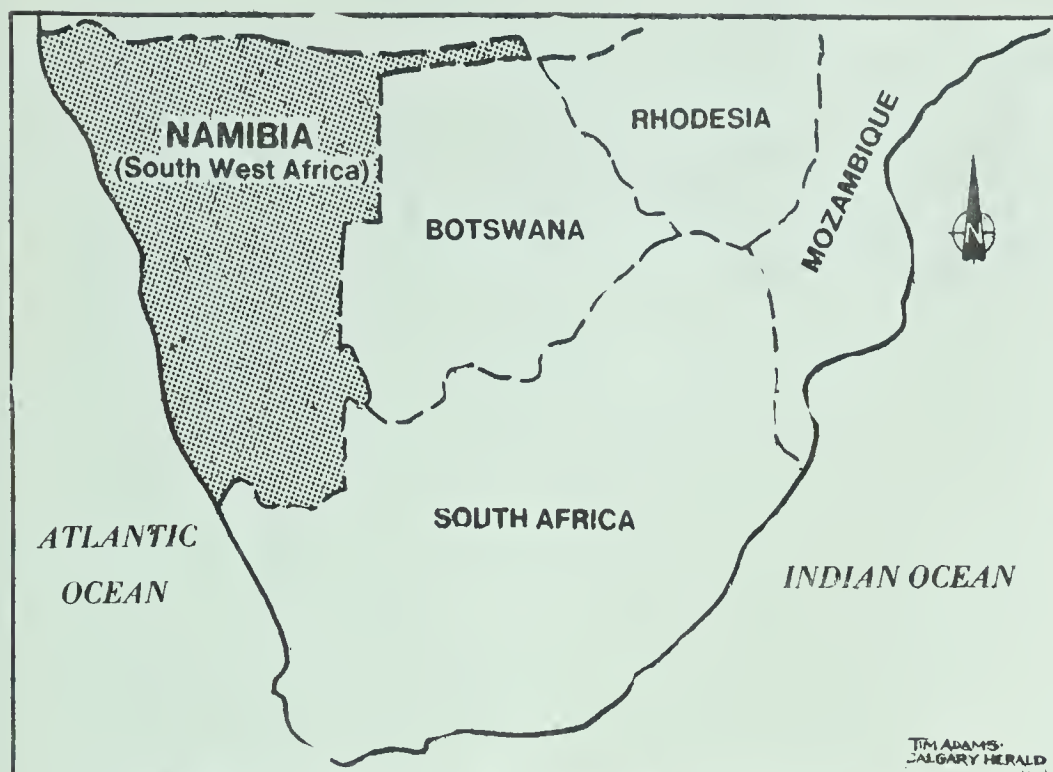
Despite having this overpowering force at its disposal, the Council decides to try economic persuasion first. Accordingly, it orders economic sanctions against the aggressor. Within a few hours all telephone, telegraph, or mail services to the aggressor are stopped; all imports are frozen in foreign ports; oil, food, raw materials for industry no longer arrive in the aggressor's state. Faced with a preponderance of power arrayed against him, the aggressor has no choice. He withdraws his army behind his frontiers. Undoubtedly, he wonders why he was ever so foolish as to attack another state.

An effective collective-security system would thus centralize overwhelming power in the hands of the international community. This community would possess a monopoly of force in international relations resembling the power of our own government within the state. Boundaries would be secure against alterations through violence, although peaceful means of change would be encouraged. The world envisaged under the collective-security system is a peaceful order run in the interest of the entire international community rather than for the good of the single state.

Questions:

1. State the definition of collective security in your own words.
2. List two examples of collective security and two "non-examples".
3. In order to make collective security effective, what must the United Nations have at its disposal?

Source 4



SHADED AREA LOCATES RESOURCE-RICH NAMIBIA

... peace force to cost "half UN budget"

Waldheim asks massive Namibian peace force

UNITED NATIONS (UPI) — Secretary General Kurt Waldheim asked the UN Security Council today to send 7,500 troops and 1,200 officials to South West Africa — one of the biggest and costliest operations in UN history — to ensure a peaceful transition to independence.

He estimated the 12-month venture would cost up to \$800 million, more than half the UN budget.

(See also Page A4)

The proposals Waldheim submitted in a report are based on a West-

ern-initiated plan, approved in principle by the Council July 27, to create an independent black majority-ruled state of Namibia by late summer 1979 after free elections. At present South Africa rules the territory of 800,000 blacks and 96,000 whites.

Waldheim said the UN civilians would be required to control more than 400 polling stations in the 318,000 square-mile uranium-rich territory.

A military vanguard would be deployed in Namibia within three weeks of the Council's 15 member nations approving the operation and brought to full strength within 12 weeks, he said.

Waldheim submitted his plan after his special representative for Namibia, Martti Ahtisaari, toured the country for 17 days.

His estimates for military and civilian staff are much higher than those originally envisaged by Waldheim — 5,000 troops and 1,000 civilians.

Under the Western plan, the force named United Nations Transition Assistance Group (UNTAG), will have the following tasks:

- Watch over the cease-fire between South Africans and black guerrillas of the South West Africa People's Organization and the withdrawal, containment or demobilization of their forces;

- Conduct "free and fair elections," ascertain the release of political prisoners and return of political exiles, and see to it that an adequate election campaign for a constituent assembly can be conducted;

- Insure a constitution for Namibia can be adopted by the Assembly before Namibia declares itself independent.

The election process, Waldheim estimated, could take place within seven months of Council approval, expected before the end of September. This would pave the way for an independent Namibia by late summer 1979.

Calgary Herald, August 30, 1978.

Questions:

1. Does the U.N. have a large army at its disposal?
2. Can the U.N. afford large peace-keeping operations?
3. In view of the weakness of the U.N., how effective is it in providing nations with security from aggression?

Source 5

A Historical Essay

Three major wars have affected the course of international relations in the past two hundred years. The first of these wars lasted for a generation and was essentially a series of alliances against France following the outbreak of the Revolution in 1789 and the dictatorship of Napoleon Bonaparte. The second war lasted four years (1914-1918) and has become known as World War I because so much of the world eventually became involved. The third, World War II (1939-1945), was truly a global struggle.

Each war was widespread, requiring the formation of powerful alliances to defeat powerful opponents. Each was, in part, an ideological struggle between authoritarianism and democracy. At the same time, each war was an attempt to maintain the balance of power. And in each case the aggressor - Napoleon, Kaiser Wilhelm II, Hitler - was defeated. But the policies adopted to preserve the hard-won peace each time were different. Napoleon's defeat in 1814 launched a century of balance-of-power politics. The defeat of imperial Germany in 1918 introduced the concept of collective security. After World War II, both collective security and balance-of-power politics were used in new ways.

In the final test - in the war that balance of power was to have prevented - the politics of a century were found wanting. At least this appeared so to President Woodrow Wilson who felt that a new system of keeping peace had to be found. And so he created the League of Nations, an organization of peace-loving nations that would take united action against aggression. This idea of collective security centers on the belief that aggressive war is a crime against humankind, and it is the duty of all states to unite against

such aggression. Thus, collective security goes beyond the interests of individual states; it relies on the weight of world opinion.

The Covenant (charter) of the League of Nations, which was included in the Versailles Treaty, contained certain key provisions. Each member promised to respect the independence of all other member nations and to aid one another against aggression. All agreed to submit serious disputes to the League and in no case to turn to war until the League had had time to work out settlements. The members also promised to take united action against any nation that started war in violation of these provisions. This united action would first be economic and then military.

In theory, collective security would avoid war; in practice, it did not. The nations of the world were not ready to give up their individual interests for a world community. The United States can serve as an example of this generalization. The Senate refused to approve the Treaty of Versailles because the League Covenant would restrict national sovereignty.

Nor did the other major powers support collective security. France had accepted the League mainly because Wilson insisted, and France did not want to defy the power of the United States. French statesmen still believed more in balance of power than in collective security, and they soon established a new system of alliances aimed at isolating Germany. Great Britain, for its part, was no more eager to give up its power of independent action than was the United States.

The League, therefore, was not a closely knit organization with a common goal, but nations that worked together only when it served their purposes. And even if the nations agreed on a common objective, the League did not represent all the major powers of the world - an idea

basic to collective security. The United States never joined, and the Soviet Union and Germany, potentially the most powerful European states, were members for only a short time. Finally, the Covenant of the League suffered because it was part of the Treaty of Versailles.

The League worked fairly well in its first ten years for a reason more negative than positive - a power vacuum existed in the world. The United States refused to accept the responsibility of its new world leadership, and it remained stubbornly removed from world affairs. The Soviet Union wrestled with internal problems of Communism. Germany, France and Britain were rocked by the economic and political results of the war. What disputes arose were minor, and the League rapidly settled them.

Yet when the League finally challenged the actions of a major power, its inability to stop aggression became apparent. In 1931 Japan invaded and occupied the large Chinese province of Manchuria despite League opposition. In 1933 Japan withdrew from the League. The message of Manchuria's conquest was not lost on other world leaders. In 1935 the Italian dictator Mussolini conquered the African kingdom of Ethiopia without effective opposition from the League. And two years later, having formed the Axis alliance with Germany, Italy also left the League of Nations. When Hitler annexed Austria and portions of Czechoslovakia in 1938, the League refused to understand his real goals.

Collective security is not necessarily unworkable; it simply was unrealistic at that time. During the two decades after World War I, great economic depression struck both Europe and the United States. The average citizen was more interested in lower taxes and increased social welfare than in international power plays. Moreover, public opinion in the western nations assumed the League could stop aggression without understanding that, having no armed forces of its own,

it had to rely on the armies and navies of Britain and France. And the French and British people made it clear time after time that they did not want their countries to go to war. And so the concept of collective security mistakenly came to mean peace without fighting.

Hitler's aggressions eventually drove the western democracies to war in 1939, not because collective security was threatened but because Hitler challenged special interests. The alliance forged against the Nazis was composed of several states whose chief bond was their need to defeat Hitler. Once this objective was accomplished, their differences quickly reappeared. The Soviet Union wanted security from attack, which could be assured by adding territory to the homeland and occupying large areas of eastern Europe. The Soviet Union also wanted to spread Communist ideas. The United States hoped to establish democracy all over the world. Britain, shattered by two wars in thirty years, wanted to keep what remained of its past glory.

The Soviet Union and the United States both demanded a dominant voice in world affairs. Britain wanted some sort of balance to offset these two giant powers. Each has found partial satisfaction in the United Nations. The planners of the United Nations were more realistic than their predecessors, and they recognized that some nations are more powerful than others. Consequently, the United States, the Soviet Union, Britain, France and China can veto decisions endangering their national interest. The planners also recognized that a "United Nations" must include all nations, and gradually almost every country in the world has been given membership. And the United Nations can call upon armed forces to back up the interests of collective security.

Yet the interests of democratic and Communist nations are so opposed that it has been very difficult to agree on common objectives through collective security. Accordingly, foreign policy has alternated between doses of collective security and balance-of-power. The United Nations has been used effectively in cases where the powers have wished to avoid personal involvement, and settlement by a third party is in their mutual interest. But in most cases the rival nations prefer to keep the power of decision-making in their own hands. While using the potentials of collective security through the United Nations, they have also made alliances to support their special interests. They have again created what is in effect a balance of power.

Fenton, E. and Good, J. M. The Shaping of Western Society: An Inquiry Approach, pp. 306, 307, 309, 312-313.



A typical international problem tackled by the League of Nations:

THE PROBLEM OF UPPER SILESIA

(Number 2 on above map)

The people living in Upper Silesia were mainly Poles and Germans. In 1921 they were asked to vote in a plebiscite to decide with which country to unite. When 700,000 voted for Germany and 480,000 voted for Poland the League was asked to interpret this result. It decided that the plebiscite area would be partitioned between the two nations. Though this seemed fair, the half given to Poland contained the rich industrial area of Silesia, so the Germans were embittered by this loss.

The principle of partition rarely offers a permanent solution to international disputes and there was constant bickering between Poland and Germany over Silesia for the next seventeen years.

1921-22 The plebiscite in Upper Silesia and the decision of the League of Nations



Questions:

1. State the purpose of the League of Nations by listing the key provisions.
2. Why did the League fail?
3. Does the UN appear to have the same fundamental weaknesses as the League?
4. Is the UN able to control big powers or is it controlled by them?

LEARNING PACKAGE III-3

Mutual Deterrence

Sources:

1. "Mutual Deterrence" by McNamara.
2. "Balance of Terror" by Gallois.
3. "Crunch to Russian Arms...", Calgary Herald.

Instructions:

1. Obtain a copy of each source for each member of the research group.
2. Do a group study of one source at a time following the sequence of sources listed.
3. Complete each question as given with each source and record these in your notebook. The group should share their information and answers.
4. Complete one "Information Sheet: Alternatives" for distribution to the whole class. Be sure to consult your teacher about this.
5. Organize your presentation to the class. Be sure to consult with your teacher when you reach this step.

Source 1
Mutual Deterrence

Robert Strange McNamara was the first person outside of the Ford family to become president of the Ford Motor Company. President Kennedy appointed him Secretary of Defence in 1961. Under this post he worked for less primary reliance on nuclear weapons through more employment of conventional methods. When he resigned in 1968 to become President of the World Bank, he altered his former views on Vietnam and advised the United States to withdraw. The following is an excerpt from The Essence of Security, written prior to his resignation.

In a complex and uncertain world, the gravest problem that an American Secretary of Defense must face is that of planning, preparation and policy against the possibility of thermonuclear war. It is a prospect that most of mankind understandably would prefer not to contemplate, for technology has now circumscribed us all with a horizon of horror that could dwarf any catastrophe that has befallen man in his more than a million years on earth.

Man has lived now for more than twenty years in what we have come to call the Atomic Age. What we sometimes overlook is that every future age of man will be an atomic age, and if man is to have a future at all, it will have to be one overshadowed with the permanent possibility of thermonuclear holocaust. About that fact there is no longer any doubt. Our freedom in this question consists only in facing the matter rationally and realistically and discussing actions to minimize the danger.

No sane citizen, political leader or nation wants thermonuclear war. But merely not wanting it is not enough. We must understand the differences among actions which increase its risks, those which reduce them and those which,

while costly, have little influence one way or another. But there is a great difficulty in the way of constructive and profitable debate over the issues, and that is the exceptional complexity of nuclear strategy. Unless these complexities are well understood, rational discussion and decision-making are impossible.

One must begin with precise definitions. The cornerstone of our strategic policy continues to be to deter deliberate nuclear attack upon the United States or its allies. We do this by maintaining a highly reliable ability to inflict unacceptable damage upon any single aggressor or combination of aggressors at any time during the course of a strategic nuclear exchange, even after absorbing a surprise first strike. This can be defined as our assured-destruction capability.

It is important to understand that assured destruction is the very essence of the whole deterrence concept. We must possess an actual assured-destruction capability, and that capability also must be credible. The point is that a potential aggressor must believe that our assured-destruction capability is in fact actual, and that our will to use it in retaliation to an attack is in fact unwavering. The conclusion, then, is clear: if the United States is to deter a nuclear attack on itself or its allies, it must possess an actual and a credible assured-destruction capability.

When calculating the force required, we must be conservative in all our estimates of both a potential aggressor's capabilities and his intentions. Security depends upon assuming a worst plausible case, and having the ability to cope with it. In that eventuality we must be able to absorb the total weight of nuclear attack on our country - on our retaliatory forces, on our command and control apparatus, on our industrial capacity, on our

cities, and on our population - and still be capable of damaging the aggressor to the point that his society would be simply no longer viable in twentieth-century terms. That is what deterrence of nuclear aggression means. It means the certainty of suicide to the aggressor, not merely to his military forces, but to his society as a whole.

Let us consider another term: first-strike capability. This is a somewhat ambiguous term, since it could mean attack another nation with nuclear forces first. But as it is normally used, it connotes much more: the elimination of the attacked nation's retaliatory second-strike forces. This is the sense in which it should be understood.

Clearly, first-strike capability is an important strategic concept. The United States must not and will not permit itself ever to get into a position in which another nation, or combination of nations would possess a first-strike capability against it. Such a position not only would constitute an intolerable threat to our security, but it obviously would remove our ability to deter nuclear aggression.

We are not in that position today, and there is no foreseeable danger of our ever getting into that position. Our strategic offensive forces are immense: 1,000 Minuteman missile launchers, carefully protected below-ground; 41 Polaris submarines, carrying 656 missile launchers, with the majority hidden beneath the seas at all times; and about 600 long-range bombers, approximately 40 percent of which are kept in a high state of alert.

Our alert forces alone carry more than 2,200 weapons, each averaging more than the explosive equivalent of one megaton of TNT. Four hundred of these delivered on the Soviet Union would be sufficient to destroy over one-third of her population and one-half of her industry. All these flexible and highly reliable forces are equipped with

devices that ensure their penetration of Soviet defenses.

Now what about the Soviet Union? Does it today possess a powerful nuclear arsenal? The answer is that it does. Does it possess a first-strike capability against the United States. The answer is that it does not. Can the Soviet Union in the foreseeable future acquire such a first-strike capability against the United States. The answer is that it cannot. It cannot because we are determined to remain fully alert and we will never permit our own assured-destruction capability to drop to a point at which a Soviet first-strike capability is even remotely feasible.

Is the Soviet Union seriously attempting to acquire a first-strike capability against the United States. Although this is a question we cannot answer with absolute certainty, we believe the answer is no. In any event, the question itself is - in a sense - irrelevant; for the United States will maintain and, where necessary, strengthen its retaliatory forces so that, whatever the Soviet Union's intentions or actions, we will continue to have an assured-destruction capability vis-a-vis their society.

But there is another question that is most relevant. Does the United States, then, possess a first-strike capability against the Soviet Union? The answer is that we do not. We do not have this capability, not because we have neglected our nuclear strength; on the contrary, we have increased it to the point that we possess a clear superiority over the Soviet Union. We do not possess first-strike capability against the Soviet Union for precisely the same reason that they do not possess it against us. Quite simply, we have both built up our second-strike capability - in effect, retaliatory power - to the point that a first-strike capability on either side has become unattainable.

There is, of course, no way by which the United States could have prevented the Soviet Union from acquiring its

present second-strike capability, short of a massive preemptive first strike in the 1950's. The fact is, then, that neither the Soviet Union nor the United States can attack the other without being destroyed in retaliation; nor can either of us attain a first-strike capability in the foreseeable future. Further, both the Soviet Union and the United States now possess an actual and credible second-strike capability against one another, and it is precisely this mutual capability that provides us both with the strongest possible motive to avoid a nuclear war.

Cuthbert, R. Issues for the Seventies, pp. 82-84.

Questions:

1. Explain the strategy of "assured-destruction capability". Do you think this is a reasonable strategy?
2. What is meant by "first-strike capability"?
3. Do you think McNamara would be in favour of arms reduction?

Source 2
Balance of Terror

Today, nuclear armament poses the classical problem of war in an entirely new way:

1. There is no longer any common measure between the conflict's purpose and the risk run in attacking by force. Yesterday, the fractionalization of destructive power permitted an adaptation to the causes and the nature of the dispute. War could sometimes be an intelligent operation. Yesterday, one began a campaign once a fly-swatter had landed on the nose of the French Consul in Algiers or upon reading a garbled dispatch.

Today, this is no longer the case. Once the process has begun, the risk is exorbitant, the retribution immediate, the recourse to force senseless. When two nations are armed with nuclear weapons, even if they are unequally armed, the status quo is unavoidable. The aggressor nation, even if it were stronger, would in fact risk losing in a few hours the advantages of all its past efforts: transformed into a desert, it would be thrown several decades or even centuries behind the rest. This nation - and those of its inhabitants who had escaped death, either immediate or by radiation poisoning - would have irremediably lost the economic and political race, and the very objects of its ambition would be swept from the face of the earth.

When Mao Tse-tung suggests that his country is not afraid of the nuclear threat, that it could lose 300 million inhabitants and thereby triumph over an adversary not possessing such enormous human reserves, he is wrong. It happens that there are no other technical and industrial civilizations than those based on urban agglomerations - on cities. The modernization of China, too, presupposes the development of urban life. Nuclear weapons have not only

radiation effects, they also have mechanical effects shock and heat - which are not selective. One cannot attack a great nation, destroy 300 million of its inhabitants, and at the same time leave the necessary means of modern life intact for the survivors. If China lost 300 million inhabitants, she would be hurled back into the vacuum from which Mao Tse-tung is, in fact, trying to extricate her. Even Peking cannot gamble on a war, if that war is a nuclear one: such speculation would be as childish as it was stupid.

In every case, whatever the nations involved, devastation could reach such proportions that a nation's very existence would have to be threatened before it would consider using its atomic arsenal. For the rest, one must accept the notion of a fait accompli. If Soviet pursuit planes force down an American plane or if American artillery opens fire on a Soviet plane, nothing happens. Nothing happens - except diplomatic protests and demands for indemnities - because nothing can happen. And if transport planes were forced down, even if civilian passengers were the victims of a pursuit pilot's nervous trigger finger or of hostile antiaircraft batteries, nothing would happen. The devastation would so obviously be out of all proportion to the misdemeanor that such a war is unthinkable. Clearly, if nuclear weapons had not existed, the face of the world since 1945 would have been changed and would have been changed by force.

2. Under certain conditions, a new form of equality can be established among nations. In questions of security and defense, there can no longer be strong nations and weak nations - at least in facing certain dangers.

The notion seems paradoxical enough to require some justification. Let us take the case of Denmark.

In 1864 and 1865, this country had not been able to resist Prussian and Austrian aggression. It was invaded in

1940 by the troops of the Third Reich. Unfortunately situated geographically, rich, civilized, peace-loving, with few human and material means of defense at its command, Denmark virtually invites invasion. Today, facing overwhelming Soviet superiority, it owes its independence only to the collective defense system to which it belongs. But if, tomorrow, Denmark found itself alone, it would undoubtedly be doomed as it was in 1864 and 1940. It was out of the question, in those days, for a country Denmark's size to command conventional forces adequate to defend its neutrality. In the age of the new weapons, however, Denmark could still base its security on the possession of a few nuclear-warhead missiles, whether these weapons were purely national or, as is more likely, if they were placed under the double control of Denmark and the guarantor nation. If, for instance, the Danish government possessed several missile-launching submarines, it would have an effective dissuasion force, because the latter would be difficult to destroy preventively and because the destructive power they represented would greatly exceed the advantage the aggressor might derive from a subjugated Denmark. Who would dare attack this small country, if, in order to depose its government and invade its territory, the aggressor would have to run the risk, in return, of seeing a dozen of his own major urban centers destroyed? Would access to the North Sea and control of the Straits be worth such devastation? Of course, confronted with an ultimatum accompanied by threats of atomic dissuasion, or even with the invasion of its territory by forces greatly superior in number, the Danish government would probably surrender rather than launch its missiles and subsequently suffer the effects of the aggressor's retaliation. But what if it did not surrender? What if it used its missiles? The aggressor would prove his vulnerability to a small state's power. He

would have to bind up his wounds while the rival great nations continued the race toward prosperity. But above all, the aggressor would be facing a dilemma: if he did not brutally retaliate against the Danish reaction, he would lose face and prove the value of the policy of nuclear decentralization; yet if the aggressor made the Danes pay dearly for their national impulse, the horror his retaliation inspired would risk turning the rest of the world against him.

Obviously, the likelihood of a Danish nuclear reaction is slight, but what counts is that this slight likelihood is compensated for by an enormous destructive power, certainly a destructive power superior to the relatively limited value Denmark represents. By reacting in this way to an attack, Denmark would doubtless be condemning itself to destruction and committing a kind of national suicide. It is quite likely that it would abjure such a reprisal, preferring servitude to annihilation. Yet who would have the audacity to gamble on a government's weakness, if in case of an error in anticipating its conduct, the aggressor's losses were so terrible, and so greatly out of proportion with the conflict's goal? Tomorrow, the combination of submarine and ballistic missiles can satisfy the requirements of the Danish dissuasion policy. Thereafter some other technical formula will no doubt be employed, but a certain leveling principle among small nations and large abides.

3. Because new weapons, based on the principle of atomic fission but of lower power, are beginning to figure in the panoplies of the two Great Powers, the concept of dissuasion will henceforth be applied not only to the defense of states of major importance but also to secondary conflicts. Because destructive power by "firing unit" now ranges from grenade to thermonuclear bomb without a real solution of continuity between conventional explosives and

atomic explosives, we can anticipate a tremendous strategic and political upheaval.

Only ten years ago, at the start of the Korean war, there existed an enormous difference between the most powerful TNT weapons and the least powerful American atomic weapons normally usable at the time. This difference was of a psychological nature, of course, but also of a mechanical order; the first of these weapons destroyed several hundred square yards of terrain, whereas the second destroyed everything in an area of twelve to fifteen thousand square yards. It was apparent the world over that the stake of the Korean conflict was not in proportion to a new Hiroshima. Because of the moral constraint the United States then imposed upon itself - and also because of the insistence of the French and British governments - the conflict lasted years and tens of thousands of young Americans were sacrificed, Washington waging 12,000 kilometers from its bases a costly war that only the threat of using atomic weapons might have stopped. But the memory of Hiroshima was still fresh, and America, taking its allies' advice, preferred to oppose the Chinese masses with its divisions and its aerial and naval squadrons.

Because the physicists are continually reducing the destructive power of atomic explosives, this period is now past. If there were a conflict tomorrow between those nations possessing a complete atomic panoply, the danger would be that, rather than surrender, each belligerent would successively resort to weapons of greater and greater power, crossing the atomic threshold all the more easily the closer it lies to conventional weapons. This would constitute the principle of "escalation," each side using increasingly powerful weapons against the other and the damage mutually endured quickly exceeding in extent the value of the conflict's initial purpose. Since neither side

is unaware of the dangers in this rising scale of destructive powers, and since each side realizes, before beginning, the absurdity of a trial by force that would either lead to mutual destruction or oblige one side to surrender in time but which? - it is clear that other procedures than direct armed attack must be employed. This is why the coup d'etat, the palace revolution, and subversion are henceforth to be substituted for the old open hostilities. If the new explosive cannot impose total peace, at least it limits the intensity of the conflict and condemns pitched battle as it condemns yesterday's wars of position and movement.

4. By combining thermonuclear explosives with long-range ballistic missiles, technologists have created a weapon against which, today, there is no defense. It appears that whoever uses it first must triumph and that this weapon gives the aggressor an enormous advantage. As a matter of fact, if both sides possess such weapons - even in unequal numbers - this need not be the case. If he wishes to avoid suffering their terrible effects himself, the assailant must first destroy his victim's reprisal missiles before they are launched against his own territory. In short, he must execute a successful counterbattery and annihilate his enemy's missiles in their launching silos. But this counterbattery can be made impossible; if the missiles the aggressor must destroy are protected underground or if they are made mobile and their movements concealed from the potential aggressor, the latter cannot prepare himself against retaliation. Therefore, contrary to what is usually supposed, the appearance of ballistic missiles with thermonuclear warheads does not facilitate aggression, but on the contrary, given certain precautions, makes it virtually impracticable.

Of course, these precautions will be increasingly complex and increasingly costly, but they must condemn

taking the initiative in matters of force. There is no analogous situation to be found in history. Doubtless for the first time, opposing sides, their arsenals full, cannot come to grips with each other. If one side abjures the necessary efforts of preparation and is technologically outstripped, the other triumphs. But if the technological race continues at the same rate on both sides, the status quo is obligatory, firm and immutable.

For all these reasons, before insisting on the suppression of nuclear armament, the governments of the Western democracies would do better to reflect. Perhaps it is wiser to prepare for an atomic war that cannot occur, thereby maintaining a state of equilibrium among the unequal forces throughout the world, than to accumulate the weapons of a conflict which would be possible because it would be waged by purely conventional means.

Gallois, Pierre. The Balance of Terror. Translated by R. Howard. Paris, France: Calmann Levy, 1960.

Questions:

1. Why does the author say that war today cannot be an "intelligent operation"?
2. Summarize the argument that in questions of security and defence there are no strong and weak nations.
3. Do you agree or disagree with the logic of the following argument presented by the author (point 3):
 - (a) The original nuclear weapons were so destructive no one dared use them after Hiroshima and Nagasaki.
 - (b) Now, nuclear weapons technology offers small to very large arms.

(c) Thus, there is a danger of using "small" nuclear weapons which could escalate into using "large" nuclear weapons.

(d) Therefore, neither small nor large nuclear weapons will ever be used. The new weapons in fact serve the cause of peace.

Does this argument make sense to you? Why or why not?

4. What do you think of the concept of an arms race in order that the status quo can be maintained?
5. Does the author believe in reducing arms? Does he support the view that mutual deterrence will ensure peace?
6. How well does this strategy support the universal principles of human survival and human dignity?

Crunch to Russian arms punch will

WASHINGTON (UPI) — The destructive capability of Russia's strategic forces will equal that of the United States by the 1980s, the U.S. Arms Controls and Disarmament Agency said in a report Tuesday.

ACDA stressed that the 1978 retaliatory capability of America's strategic forces "exceeds the first strike capability of the Soviets

against both hard and soft targets" and the U.S. ability to strike back will be even stronger in the mid-1980s.

Comparing strategic potential now and in the 1980s, the ACDA said:

— The United States is ahead of the Soviet Union today in target destruction capability.

— Both the United States and Soviet forces will become substantially more capable by the mid-1980s.

— U.S. retaliatory capability after a Soviet first strike in the mid-1980s exceeds the current retaliatory capability.

— The capability of U.S. and Soviet strategic forces

in the mid-1980s is essentially equal."

ACDA said the analysis — which takes into account the SALT II agreement now being negotiated — attempts to place in perspective the relative capabilities of both superpowers "according to a common measure of effectiveness ... which focuses on what the forces 'can do'

soon equal U.S.'s — report

as opposed to what the forces 'look like'."

"Although it is not possible to predict Soviet force improvements in the absence of a SALT II agreement, it is apparent that the overall capability could be greater since (the United States) would be unrestrained by the SALT limitations," ACDA said.

The analysis assumes each country has 1,500 "hard" targets — missile silos, weapons storage and some command facilities — and 5,000 "soft" targets — industrial facilities and such military targets as missile launchers, naval and air bases, and troop camps.

In 1978, ACDA estimat-

ed a Soviet first strike would destroy 28 percent of U.S. hard targets and 61 percent of U.S. soft targets. An American retaliatory strike, would destroy 43 percent of Soviet hard targets and 77 percent of Soviet soft targets.

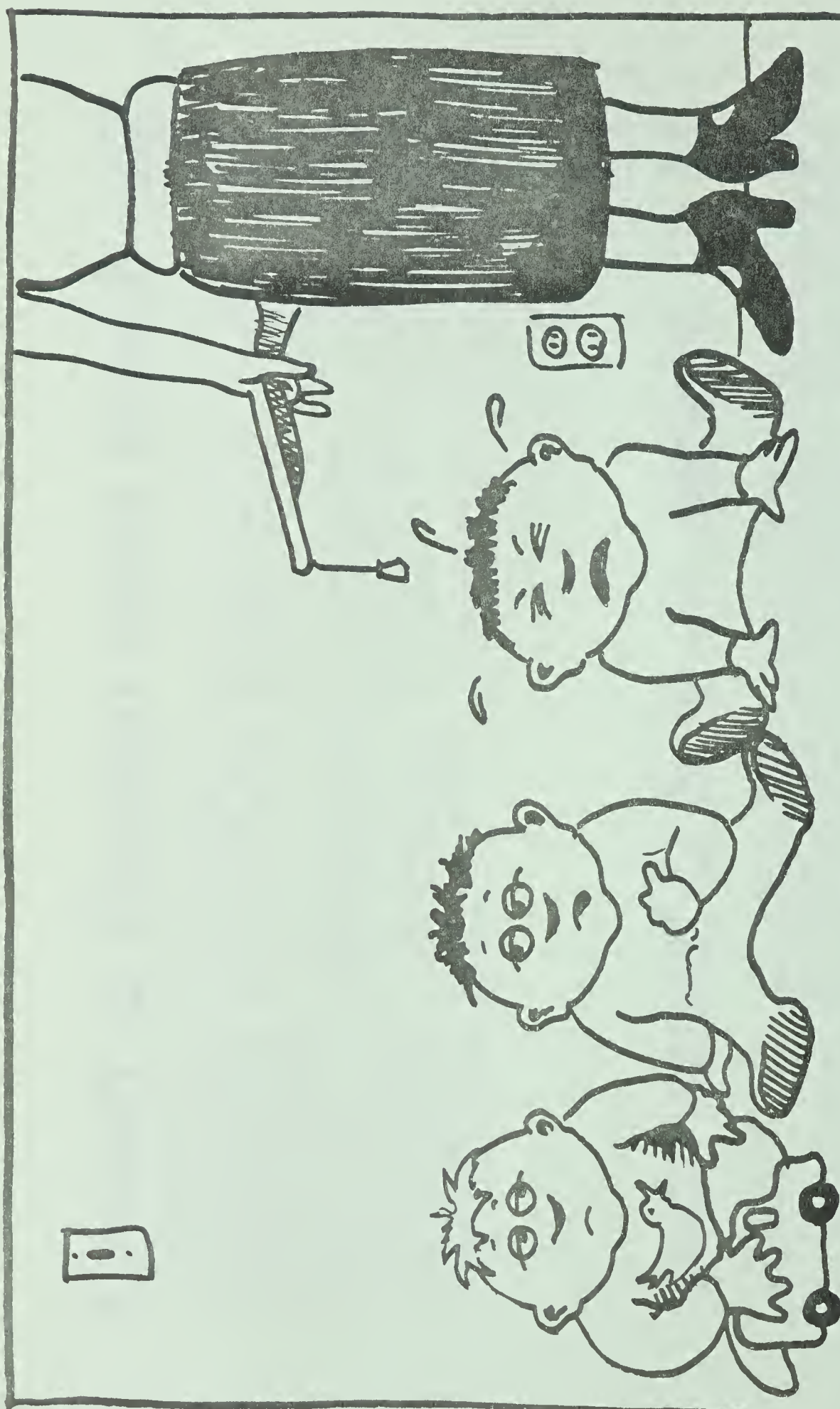
"One of the major contributors to U.S. hard target

kill capability is the U.S. manned bomber force ... which, in retaliation, has the capacity to destroy a wide spectrum of targets" according to ACDA.

By the mid-1980s, after improvements in the strategic forces of the United States and the Soviet Union, "both forces are roughly in balance."

Questions:

1. Who is winning the arms race?
2. Does the article suggest that McNamara's strategy of "assured destruction capability" remains the present policy of the U.S.A. and the U.S.S.R.?



Crumb

"...TAKES AWAY HIS FAVORITE TOY AND CALLS IT 'PREVENTIVE MEDICINE.'
I CALL IT STRATEGIC ARMS LIMITATION."

LEARNING PACKAGE III-4
"System of Alliances"

Sources:

1. "The Mexican Standoff", Canada and the World.
2. "NATO: Keep It or Abolish It?", Canada and the World.
3. "Choosing Up Sides on NATO", Macleans.

Instructions:

1. Obtain a copy of each source for each member of the research group.
2. Do a group study of one source at a time following the sequence of sources as listed.
3. Complete each question as given with each source and record these in your notebook. The group should share their information and answers.
4. Complete one "Information Sheet: Alternatives" for distribution to the whole class. Be sure to consult your teacher about this.
5. Organize your presentation to the class. Be sure to consult with your teacher when you reach this step.

Source 1

The Mexican Standoff

by Charles A. White
Contributing Editor

Most animals give the skunk and porcupine a wide berth. The overpowering scent of the one and the barbed quills of the other are deterrent enough for the most determined attacker.

This is what deterrence means, being strong enough to discourage the other fellow from hitting you first. It is the idea behind the world's most powerful military organizations, the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) and the Warsaw Pact nations. With the United States and the Soviet Union to provide superpower backbone, the two groups have been facing each other for more than 20 years in a cautious and restless truce. And of course, the ultimate deterrent in the armories of both groups is the ability to make a nuclear strike.

World War II reshaped the world, and particularly the continent of Europe. Russia, grudging ally of the West in the fight against Hitler, turned hostile and suspicious. An Iron Curtain fell, dividing the Soviets and their satellites in Eastern Europe from the capitalist democracies. West Berlin became an island in a Communist sea; during the Russian blockade of 1948, its people were fed and clothed only through a massive allied airlift. The incident was typical of the 'cold war' atmosphere which inspired the birth of NATO on April 4, 1949.

WHAT NATO IS

Twelve nations got together in Washington on that date to join an alliance promoting "stability and well-being in the North Atlantic area". The new organization included Belgium

Canada, Denmark, France, Iceland, Italy, Luxembourg, the Netherlands, Norway, Portugal, the United Kingdom, and the United States. Its clear purpose was collective defence against Soviet aggression. In the words of the treaty, "an armed attack against one...shall be considered an attack against them all".

Nations far from the North Atlantic have since joined the original twelve. Greece and Turkey became members in 1952. West Germany was accepted into the NATO club in 1955, bringing the membership to its present 15.

A few words about how NATO works. A Council, made up of the foreign affairs and defence ministers of the member nations, meets at intervals. Since these ministers are not available on a day-to-day basis, permanent delegates carry on the regular work of NATO, bossed by a secretary-general. For the past several years, Joseph M.A.H. Luns of the Netherlands has held this post.

The military end of NATO is directed by a Military Committee at Supreme Headquarters, Allied Powers in Europe (SHAPE).

NATO BALANCE SHEET

Now in its 28th year, NATO is still strong in spite of handicaps which the Warsaw Pact nations have never known. It hangs together simply because it has a joint purpose, the defence of liberty. It also has the advantages of advanced technology, efficient agriculture, and the free exchange of ideas. Against these positive features we must stack an imposing list of NATO troubles. In a general way, all of them represent the penalty which must be paid for being democratic.

- NATO members pledged themselves to look for peaceful solutions to disputes among themselves. The alliance hasn't always succeeded in keeping this promise. Here are examples:

(a) France under Charles de Gaulle was the first defector. In 1967 it withdrew its military support, SHAPE was moved from Paris to the Netherlands, and the NATO Council went to Brussels. President de Gaulle's idea of an independent France and his dislike of American dominance were responsible. Only now is France quietly starting to contribute more to NATO's military role.

(b) The quarrel between Turkey and Greece over Cyprus and Aegean oil has weakened NATO's southern flank. Both countries threatened to withdraw from NATO, claiming that the alliance, and particularly the U.S., was biased against them.

(c) In 1974, the United States was angry at NATO's European members when they refused landing privileges to American planes flying supply missions to Israel during the Mideast war.

(d) Sparks flew between two NATO members, Britain and Iceland, over fishing rights off the coast of Iceland.

- Logistics is the military term for moving troops and supplies to the battlefield. NATO is at a disadvantage here. Its kingpin, the United States, is an ocean, and half a continent away from Central Europe. The U.S. and Canada would take days or weeks, not hours, to get reinforcements to the forward area. Quick action to repel a conventional (non-nuclear) attack is important and NATO planners worry about it.

- The Biblical Tower of Babel stopped short of heaven because the builders couldn't communicate, and NATO has this problem on a lesser scale. A dozen different languages confuse everything from military orders to specifications for equipment.

- Along the same line, and even more important, is the question of standardization. A Ford piston will not fit a Chevrolet cylinder and the same is true for thousands of

parts in the NATO arsenal. Among the European members alone, NATO has 22 different antitank weapons, seven battle tanks, 13 kinds of close-range weapons, 18 types of missiles and 40 varieties of heavy naval guns.

- Economics is another frequent headache for the North Atlantic Alliance. Hardly one of the 15 members has not, at one time or another, felt the pinch of inflation, trade deficits, and high taxes. Politicians in democracies depend on the voters for their jobs, and at the first sign of hard times see the millions spent on NATO as a good place to start cutting the budget. Not long ago, Canada was talking about halving its NATO contributions and is only now swinging over to more solid support. Europe has more than once been terrified that the United States will abandon it; Jimmy Carter's firm statements about continued American backing for the Alliance have brought sighs of relief.

- The Communists are attacking from within. Italian Communists hold key positions in the government, France and Portugal both have strong Communist parties. All of them claim national loyalty and independence from Moscow. However, could such a government be trusted as a NATO ally? Would it work to sabotage the alliance? Might it pass along military secrets to the Kremlin?

No problem is insoluble, and NATO is working on every one of these problems. Progress is being made, for example, on including some standard parts on the new American XM-1 tank and the new German Leopard II.

THE WARSAW PACT

The Soviet Union looked on NATO with alarm and suspicion. Along the frontiers between East and West Europe, barbed wire and guards manned the defences against capitalist democracy. In 1955, Moscow finally formalized Communist opposition to NATO in a Warsaw Treaty Organization. Bulgaria,

Czechoslovakia, East Germany, Hungary, Poland, Rumania, and the U.S.S.R. signed a mutual defence pact as members. Albania was at first included, but in 1962 was expelled because of its friendship with China. Communist Yugoslavia has always been a holdout from the Warsaw group.

At first glance, the Warsaw Pact looks like a solid block of stone (a monolith) facing 15 reluctant and sometimes quarrelsome allies in NATO. Even so, cracks in the block sometimes appear, and Moscow must use persuasion or force to patch them up. In 1956 the Hungarians revolted and were hammered down by Russian tanks. The Czechs tried for more freedom in 1968 and Soviet armour rolled down the streets of Prague to restore Kremlin authority. Rumania has always fought for more equality in Pact decisions. Poland is the latest worry as dissident groups challenge the Communist leadership.

It would be a mistake to exaggerate these flaws in the Warsaw Pact. The Soviet Union still rules the group with an iron hand. All the top military jobs go to Russians.

EASTERN STRENGTH		
	Western Europe*	Warsaw Pact
Fighter aircraft	520	3,900
Attack aircraft	1,040	6,950
Armoured vehicles	9,800	49,000
Artillery rockets	1,150	32,000
Missile ships	12	215
Missile submarines	9	114
*Western Europe means all nations, whether NATO members or not.		

Control of the satellites has allowed uniformity in weapons and equipment. Soviet troops are concentrated in member countries, not only to oppose NATO forces but also to dampen any thoughts of independence. The Warsaw Pact enjoys

far better logistics than the Western alliance since all its members are fairly close to Central Europe.

Warsaw Pact armour and troops outweigh NATO strength in nearly every category but tactical nuclear weapons. This is so because there is no limit to the amount which may be spent on arms in a one-party state (can you explain why?). The Kremlin currently budgets about 12 per cent of national production to military use, a figure which no democracy would dare to consider.

TWO MEANINGS OF DETENTE

Both NATO and the Warsaw Pact aim at detente (holding back from aggression) but have a different understanding of its meaning. The Western nations want to reduce forces on both sides and to open Communist borders to people and ideas. The Warsaw countries too want force reductions, but on terms which would gain them an advantage.

The two groups have been arguing since 1973 over a fair way of cutting down their forces. Meetings about these "mutual and balanced force reductions" (MBFR) have still not found a formula which both will accept. The Communists want a straight percentage cut on both sides which would leave them with the same advantage as at present. NATO argues that 'balance' means what it says and that the Warsaw Pact must make additional cuts.

Most Canadians yawn as these two great military groups spar with each other. However, the outcome of MBFR and other discussions could change the course of history. A global war, if it ever comes, will likely start in Central Europe. Ruling out such horrors as biological warfare, there are two options for fighting it - conventional and nuclear. If we don't match the Warsaw Pact's strength, flexibility and speed in conventional war, only the nuclear option is left. This is why NATO leaders are pressing so hard for either a true

balance of forces which can stop or delay an attack until reinforcements can be brought up.

Having one choice - the nuclear one - is really having no choice at all.

Charles White, "The Mexican Standoff". In Canada and the World.

Questions:

1. What does NATO stand for? What is the purpose of the Alliance?
2. What countries joined NATO?
3. List and explain three or four internal problems facing NATO. What nation dominates NATO?
4. When was the Warsaw Pact formed? What is its purpose? What nation dominates the Pact?
5. Compare the military strength of NATO versus the Warsaw Pact.
6. According to the article, where will the next global war begin and how will it be fought? Why does NATO have to "keep up" with the Warsaw Pact strength?

Source 2

NATO

Keep It or Abolish It?

by BRUCE CUSHING

In a military alliance, two or more nations agree that they will act in a certain way if a given set of circumstances ever occurs. This is a contract between nations because it binds them to live up to their word, or face the consequences.

These alliances are usually set up to deal with a specific problem for a definite length of time. There are peace treaties - settling wars, and non-aggression pacts - guaranteeing that members will not attack each other. The defence alliance is a stronger protective agreement. Countries pledge active support if one of their allies is attacked.

The North Atlantic Treaty Organization is a defence alliance to prevent Russian aggression in Europe. During the Second World War, Russia conquered many territories in eastern Europe as she advanced to Berlin. Toward the end of the war, she claimed these territories for herself. In the years from 1945 to 1950, she continued a strong campaign to bring more of Europe under her domination.

After the war, Germany and its capital, Berlin, were divided into four zones which were to be occupied by the four major allies. They hoped eventually to reunite Germany as an independent state. First, they wanted to be sure that the country would not rise up again as the aggressor in Europe.

This plan failed because Russia was unwilling to co-operate. She used her occupation of eastern Germany to take advantage of the country's industrial strength.

She resisted every attempt by the other allies to reunify Germany. Finally, the United States, Britain, and France combined their zones, and established the Republic of West Germany in 1949. Russia then set up a separate government in her zone. This became the People's Republic of East Germany.

Russia also began to strengthen her hold on the rest of eastern Europe. She sponsored Communist take-overs in Roumania, Bulgaria, Hungary, and Poland. She delayed signing a peace treaty with Austria so she could keep her occupation troops there. An attempt was also made to set up a Communist government in Greece. This was stopped by the U.S.

In 1948, the Communists overthrew the representative government in Czechoslovakia. The western nations decided to act before it was too late. In March, representatives of Belgium, France, Britain, Holland and Luxembourg met in Brussels. There they signed a mutual assistance pact. This Treaty of Brussels slowed down Russian expansion. But it was obvious that Russian military strength was far greater than the combined forces of the five members.

The United States had come out of the war even stronger than she was when she had entered it. She had also abandoned her policy of avoiding alliances with other countries, which had become impractical with the invention of the atomic bomb.

On April 4, 1949, the five members of the Treaty of Brussels joined the United States, Canada, Iceland, Denmark, Norway, Italy, and Portugal to form the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO). These countries shared a common fear of the expansion of Communism in Europe. They were also united by similar backgrounds.

Each nation pledged that "an armed attack against any of the signatories (the signers of the agreement) shall be

considered an attack against them all". Nations could decide for themselves what aid to contribute in a specific situation.

At Canada's insistence, the treaty encouraged members to develop economic co-operation and cultural understanding. They pledged to strengthen and encourage the growth of democracy. These aspects of the treaty have been largely ignored. Portugal, a charter member, was a dictatorship, as was Greece when she and Turkey joined in 1952. The fifteenth member, the Republic of West Germany, was admitted in 1955.

Russia was still hoping to unite Germany under Communism. She reacted to this last entry by forming the Warsaw Pact with Roumania, Hungary, Poland, Czechoslovakia, Bulgaria, and East Germany. This treaty allowed Russia to officially station troops in what were already Communist-dominated countries.

CANADA'S ROLE IN NATO

1948 - Canada invited as an observer to the Treaty of Brussels talks.

1949 - Became a charter NATO member. Known as "the midwife" at the birth of NATO.

- Insisted on Article 2, which makes the alliance's aims cultural and economic, as well as military.

1951 - As a result of tension at the time of the Korean War, Canadian forces stationed in Germany and France.

1970 - on the grounds that her commitment was too costly, Canada cut her ground forces in Europe by half.

ARGUMENTS AGAINST

Since the mid-1960's, NATO has been criticized not only by the Communist countries, but by its own members. France disagreed with NATO nuclear policies and withdrew from the

military part of the agreement. Recently, Canada and Holland have complained of the expense of maintaining NATO forces.

The expansion of Russia's influence in Europe has been stopped. To the smaller nations, the threat has been lessened, but the cost remains high. Many critics argue that the funds could be better spent - perhaps in foreign aid programs or to support United Nations peacekeeping forces. This argument is strengthened by the anti-military feelings left from the Vietnam war. There is also a fear that NATO is simply a means of extending and maintaining American influence throughout the world.

Some feel that NATO weakens existing organizations. The United Nations should act as a deterrent to aggression and a mediator in international disputes. The European Economic Community should work toward the strengthening of Europe.

The alliance has failed to prevent hostilities between its own members. Look at the "Cod War" between Britain and Iceland, or the fighting between Greece and Turkey in Cyprus.

It could be that by aiding the spread of nuclear weapons, the alliance has increased international tension. This may have pushed the world closer to total atomic destruction.

Members, including Canada, have been most disappointed by NATO's failure to be anything more than a military alliance. The concentration on defense has prevented the fulfillment of cultural and economic obligations. Similarly, the acceptance of dictatorships as members has weakened the ideals of the alliance.

ARGUMENTS FOR

However, NATO has obviously succeeded in halting the spread of Communism. The threat of a Russian invasion has

lessened, but the Soviets continue to increase their military strength. Incidents like the invasion of Czechoslovakia in 1968 seem to be reason enough for NATO's continued existence.

A combined military force is expensive, but it is more efficient and cheaper than maintaining 15 separate defence plans. NATO provides a structured force and a chain of command which could be the basis for decision-making in a war.

Part of Russia's method of advancing Communism has been to weaken nations by dividing them and promoting minor arguments. NATO presents a united front to the Russians, blocking the success of this tactic. It also allows smaller nations like Luxembourg and Iceland a say in the shaping of major decisions. The treaty is a formal statement of North American concern for the safety of Europe. It provides an avenue of communication between the old and the new worlds.

With its united front, NATO may have a strong ecological role to play. Most of its members have problems with pollution and the other effects of industrialization. NATO can provide a framework for co-operation in dealing with ocean pollution and the effects of jet exhausts. It can tackle urban sprawl, and other threats to humanity which may be more of a threat in the future than the risk of a Russian invasion ever was.

Bruce Cushing, Canada and the World. September, 1974.

Source 3

Choosing Up Sides On NATO

SIX REASONS TO STAY IN

Ross Campbell, Canada's chief delegate to NATO for the last five years, calls for continuing Canada's membership in the alliance and eventually returning our military contribution to some meaningful totals. The case for his side:

1. Canada was instrumental in the formation of NATO in 1949 as a bulwark against Soviet expansion into western and central Europe. There is little evidence that Soviet designs have changed. Moscow's continuing readiness to pursue its ends through military means was tragically demonstrated by the suppression of the Hungarian uprising, the invasion of Czechoslovakia and a series of menacing gestures toward West Berlin. NATO's conventional military strength underlies the doctrine of flexible response through which the West would be able to resist an attack without immediate recourse to nuclear weapons.

2. Canada's troops and aircraft contributions may not form an essential part of the NATO defense system but they remain important as a symbol of Canada's commitment to collective western defense. This country's withdrawal could weaken the resolve of smaller NATO members especially Holland, Denmark and Norway, which are feeling the pinch of defense expenditures; and could lead the way to a gradual disintegration of the alliance.

3. Canada's membership in NATO is our admission card to the negotiating tables of the Western Alliance. As members, we remain in touch with European opinion. We can make our influence felt in the process of creating a new and stable order on the continent. We cannot afford to

stand by while others make the decisions that will so vitally affect our future. Canada's UN representative in Geneva, George Ignatieff, recently said that Canadian participation in NATO even gave the country a greater say in disarmament discussions.

4. It would be an act of international selfishness for Canada to withdraw from NATO. We would no longer be contributing even our modest share to the collective defense of the Western world, but would continue to draw the benefits of collective security. The taxpayers of other countries would be carrying our burdens. This would be especially true of American taxpayers, who single-handedly are holding up the nuclear umbrella under which we shelter.

5. Canada needs the closest possible association with European countries to help offset our military and trade dependence on the United States. The presence of Canadian troops in NATO is necessary to ensure this trans-Atlantic relationship. Otherwise the Europeans will tend to regard us as nothing more than a northern province of the U.S. "If we pulled out of NATO," says Campbell, "we would have to seek our fate and fortune totally in North America."

6. Without a militarily strong NATO, much of Europe faces the threat of "Finlandization" - that is, finding itself effectively dominated, as far as foreign affairs are concerned, by the Soviet Union. "We have often been told," says Joseph Luns, secretary-general of NATO, "that Soviet policy is essentially built up for a frontal, all-out attack on the West. But the fact is that their program of military reinforcement and related research and development may - and I repeat, may be interpreted instead as an attempt to draw political benefits from military strength. However, even this should not be taken lightly. After all, military forces, without a shot being fired, can in many

instances act as a wedge for political influence, in this case Soviet influence. This is particularly relevant with respect to the buildup of Soviet naval power. The West has already seen how the Soviet naval presence in the Mediterranean can be used to give leverage to Soviet objectives, which involve undermining or eliminating Western influence and positions. Soviet statements have repeatedly proclaimed the will to develop in the same way their naval presence in all the oceans of the world. If Russia's sole concern is the defense of its territory, some of us have difficulty in seeing a purely defensive purpose in such an extension of Soviet naval forces to areas remote from their homeland."

SIX REASONS TO GET OUT

Professor James Eayrs, the country's best-known defense critic, calls for Canada to opt out of NATO, which he describes as "an illusory search for influence and international prestige." The case for his side:

1. NATO illustrates the aphorism that generals are always preparing to fight the last war. The threat to world peace has now shifted to the Far East, the Middle East, and the Third World. The Soviet military posture in Europe has been basically defensive for the past 20 years. The moves against Hungary and Soviet Czechoslovakia were reactions to threatened breaches in the Communist defense system. Stability in Europe is not guaranteed by land armies but by massive stockpiles of intercontinental missiles. You don't need the kind of flexible response NATO is supposed to provide for a war that is not likely to be fought.

2. Canada's position in NATO is unique. We are the only member which is neither a great power nor a European state. Our departure would therefore not drain the alliance of any significant strength. It's hard to believe (as the

NATO proponents never tire of arguing) that Canada's legal and gradual withdrawal from NATO would break up the alliance when the unilateral and abrupt withdrawal of France did not.

3. NATO has always had to make do with the crumbs of decision; major events rarely await the pleasure of committees of nations. The alliance was not consulted during the Berlin confrontations or the Cuban missile crisis. Canada was not consulted as a member, neighbor or anything else when President Nixon decided to establish nuclear ABM installations along our borders. As for influence, it's inconceivable that we would lose access to the important European capitals by leaving NATO. Our relations outside the alliance would if anything improve. The nuclear sterilization of Germany may well depend on NATO, but this has nothing to do with Canada's membership. Professor John W. Warnock of the University of Saskatchewan, wrote recently: "I examined 16 major decisions concerning NATO over the years. In all cases the policy changes were initiated by the United States and then approved by the organization. The other NATO allies chose to follow the leadership of the U.S. on these issues when they did not approve. This is normal in higher politics."

4. Moscow is well aware that the members of NATO will not intervene during its internal police actions, no matter how brutal, as the invasion of Hungary in 1956 and Czechoslovakia in 1968 demonstrated. In return it seems that the Soviet Union does not intervene when the United States behaves with similar cynicism in South Vietnam or the Dominican Republic.

5. NATO's military power is concentrated in the hands of the U.S. and is unimpeded by the requirement for multinational consent for major decisions. There are 7,000 nuclear warheads in the tactical weapons commanded by NATO,

nearly all kept under U.S. custody. (The actual time for consultation in a nuclear exchange is approximately seven minutes.) From the strictly military point of view this concentration of power in the hands of one nation, unfettered by allied veto rights, is an essential asset in preserving the credibility of the deterrent. From a political point of view, though, the concentration of power means, in principle, that the United States has the nuclear fate of Europe squarely in its hands.

6. There are many ways of contributing to collective security. Some nations, by virtue of superior resources and technology, can field huge armies and erect elaborate missile systems. Others see it as their duty to join military alliances. But a social worker is just as necessary to a healthy community as a policeman - and no less dedicated. There would be no free ride for a nation that took the task of providing aid and know-how to the underdeveloped world and provided peace-keeping forces in times of trouble. This - and not NATO membership - should become our prime international function.

Eayrs, Prof. James. "Choosing Up Sides on NATO".

Questions (for sources 2 and 3):

1. Summarize the arguments for and against the need for the NATO alliance.
2. Which of the two subscribes to principles of human dignity most clearly?
3. Decide which argument your group supports and why.

LEARNING PACKAGE III-5
International Law

Sources:

1. "Men in Arms" by Preston.
2. "World Peace Through World Law" by Clark and Sohn.

Instructions:

1. Obtain a copy of each source for each member of the research group.
2. Do a group study of one source at a time following the sequence of sources as listed.
3. Complete each question as given with each source and record these in your notebook. The group should share their information and answers.
4. Complete one "Information Sheet: Alternatives" for distribution to the whole class. Be sure to consult your teacher about this.
5. Organize your presentation to the class. Be sure to consult with your teacher when you reach this step.

Source 1
Men In Arms

At the end of the century, a Polish banker, Ivan S. Bloch, wrote a book forecasting the nature of warfare with the new weapons which technology had made available. The Czar of Russia was so impressed by the horrors portrayed that he proposed that the nations should limit armaments, mitigate the horrors of war, and provide a system of arbitration for the settlement of international disputes without resort to war. He summoned a conference of the nations which met at the Hague in 1899. No support could be found for the proposal of arms limitation; but some progress was made in other respects. However, the decisions on which agreement was most easily reached were those which, in fact, provided loopholes for evasion of any rules that might be laid down. Thus, it was agreed that the laws of war applied only when both sides were parties by ratification to the particular international agreements concerned; and it was agreed that reprisals were permissible in retaliation against enemy breaches in the laws of war. A second conference was held at the Hague in 1907, when dum-dum bullets (with soft expanding noses) and poison gases were outlawed. An attempt was also made to forbid the use of projectiles or explosives from airplanes. The only really important result of the Hague Conferences, however, was the establishment of an international panel of justice for the settlement of disputes; and even in that sphere the achievement was limited. Recourse to this International Court was optional and not obligatory. Codes to define the rights of neutrals by land and sea were discussed in 1907, but were not accepted by Great Britain, the power most likely to resort to blockade in the event of war. Accordingly, another

conference, held in 1908-9, produced the Declaration of London to govern blockade, contraband, and the rights of search. By 1914, no power had ratified its terms.

Throughout all these endeavors to restrict, restrain, or abolish war, it was evident that no nation was willing to tie its hands in any way that would limit its freedom of action. All paid lip service to the general principle of preventing or mitigating the horrors of war; all issued manuals to their troops outlining the international law of war as they saw it. But every step taken toward limitation of war invariably appeared to one or more of the nations as a potential danger to national security. Any attempt to prohibit a useful weapon was difficult to enforce.

Much of the initiative had come from Russia which was not one of the most advanced or liberal of the great states. It is not unlikely that one reason why the Czar took the lead in measures to limit war was his belief that Russia was less able than the other nations to fight a modern war successfully. The more "progressive" powers, for instance the United Kingdom and the United States, which might have been expected to support schemes to check the barbarism of war, were at least as cautious as other powers. Thus, British caution had rendered ineffective the agreements made at Brussels in 1874. The United States did not accept the Geneva Convention of 1864 until 1882. Captain Mahan of the United States, at the Hague in 1899, voted against a motion to prohibit poison gases. At the same conference the British opposed the abolition of dum-dum bullets on the grounds that such bullets had stopping power much greater than that of ordinary bullets and that this was necessary against a rush of uncivilized tribesmen. The plain fact was that the western democratic nations were wary of subscribing to measures which might limit the potential military value of their superior industrial organization. Measures to

restrict and limit the impact of warfare in the century between the Great Wars of Napoleon and of Kaiser William II thus failed, primarily because national sovereignty prevented any real possibility that adequate restrictions would be adopted or, if adopted, would be effective. Many other nations expressed surprise at a statement in a German military manual of 1904 that the "law of necessity" would justify breaches of the international laws of war; yet, in dire emergency, any belligerent power would probably take any action deemed necessary to win a war or to prevent defeat.

A similar fate met the preaching of minority groups who held pacifist views and called for the abolition of war. After the middle of the nineteenth century, the industrial workers of Europe had been organized into labor and socialist parties whose aim was to obtain for them a greater share of the wealth they produced. One of the basic tenets of socialists, whether gradualists like the Fabians or revolutionaries like the Communists, was that the real enemy of the worker was the bourgeois capitalist employer against whom all the workers of every nation had a common cause. Socialist parties were therefore opposed on principle to imperialist wars between nations. The most outspoken group to take this stand was the German Socialist Party, which seemed to be sufficiently powerful to be a real obstacle to any warlike plans the Kaiser might concoct. The strongest socialist literary indictment of war was produced by an English writer, Norman Angell, who attacked imperialism and argued that colonies were a financial burden and that the conquest of colonies did not pay.

All these minority movements against war proved singularly ineffective in 1914. When war came the German Socialists abandoned their former principles and fell into

line with the nationalists. In England, sincere conscientious objection to fighting was allowed as a reason for exemption from combatant service; but the number of conscientious objectors was not large enough to hamper the war effort. Everywhere, despite all the prophecies of the horrors of a modern war, the crisis of 1914 was greeted by scenes of popular enthusiasm. Public feeling against war was shallow. Democracy showed that it could be as belligerent as autocracy. The carnage of 1914-18 had to take place before there was really effective popular support for movements to restrain warfare.

Preston, R. A. and Wise, S. T. Men in Arms, pp. 217-219.

Questions:

1. Why was the Hague Conference called?
2. What were the achievements of the conferences (1899 and 1907)?
3. Were any nations prepared to commit themselves to outlaw war or even limit arms?
4. Which nations appeared more eager to limit war, the weak or the strong?

Source 2
World Peace Through World Law

This book sets forth a comprehensive and detailed plan for the maintenance of world peace in the form of a proposed revision of the United Nations Charter. The purpose is to contribute material for the world-wide discussions which must precede the adoption of universal and complete disarmament and the establishment of truly effective institutions for the prevention of war.

At the outset, it may be helpful to explain: first, the underlying conceptions of this plan for peace; and second, the main features of the plan whereby these conceptions would be carried out.

The fundamental premise of the book is identical with the pronouncement of the President of the United States on October 31, 1956: "There can be no peace without law." In this context the word "law" necessarily implies the law of a world authority, i.e., law which would be uniformly applicable to all nations and all individuals in the world and which would definitely forbid violence or the threat of it as a means for dealing with any international dispute. This world law must also be law in the sense of law which is capable of enforcement, as distinguished from a mere set of exhortations or injunctions which it is desirable to observe but for the enforcement of which there is no effective machinery.

The proposition "no peace without law" also embodies the conception that peace cannot be ensured by a continued arms race, nor by an indefinite "balance of terror," nor by diplomatic maneuver, but only by universal and complete national disarmament together with the establishment of

institutions corresponding in the world field to those which maintain law and order within local communities and nations.

A prime motive for this book is that the world is far more likely to make progress toward genuine peace, as distinguished from a precarious armed truce, when a detailed plan adequate to the purpose is available, so that the structure and functions of the requisite world institutions may be fully discussed on a world-wide basis. Consequently, this book comprises a set of definite and interrelated proposals to carry out complete and universal disarmament and to strengthen the United Nations through the establishment of such legislative, executive and judicial institutions as are necessary to maintain world order.

Underlying Principles

The following are the basic principles by which Professor Sohn and I have been governed.

First: It is futile to expect genuine peace until there is put into effect an effective system of enforceable world law in the limited field of war prevention. This implies: (a) the complete disarmament, under effective controls, of each and every nation, and (b) the simultaneous adoption on a world-wide basis of the measures and institutions which the experience of centuries has shown to be essential for the maintenance of law and order, namely, clearly stated law against violence, courts to interpret and apply that law and police to enforce it. All else, we conceive, depends upon the acceptance of this approach.

Second: The world law against international violence must be explicitly stated in constitutional and statutory form. It must, under appropriate penalties, forbid the use of force by any nation against any other for any cause whatever, save only in self-defense; and must be applicable to all individuals as well as to all nations.

Third: World judicial tribunals to interpret and apply the world law against international violence must be established and maintained, and also organs of mediation and conciliation, - so as to substitute peaceful means of adjudication and adjustment in place of violence, or the threat of it, as the means for dealing with all international disputes.

Fourth: A permanent world police force must be created and maintained which, while safeguarded with utmost care against misuse, would be fully adequate to forestall or suppress any violation of the world law against international violence.

Fifth: The complete disarmament of all the nations (rather than the mere "reduction" of "limitation" of armaments) is essential for any solid and lasting peace, this disarmament to be accomplished in a simultaneous and proportionate manner by carefully verified stages and subject to a well-organized system of inspection. It is now generally accepted that disarmament must be universal and enforceable. That it must also be complete is no less necessary, since: (a) in the nuclear age no mere reduction in the new means of mass destruction could be effective to remove fear and tension; and (b) if any substantial national armaments were to remain, even if only ten per cent of the armaments of 1960, it would be impracticable to maintain a sufficiently strong world police force to deal with any possible aggression or revolt against the authority of the world organization. We should face the fact that until there is complete disarmament of every nation without exception there can be no assurance of genuine peace.

Sixth: Effective world machinery must be created to mitigate the vast disparities in the economic condition of various regions of the world, the continuance of which tends to instability and conflict.

The following supplementary principles have also guided us:

Active participation in the world peace authority must be universal, or virtually so; and although a few nations may be permitted to decline active membership, any such nonmember nations must be equally bound by the obligation to abolish their armed forces and to abide by all the laws and regulations of the world organization with relation to the prevention of war. It follows that ratification of the constitutional document creating the world peace organization (whether in the form of a revised United Nations Charter or otherwise) must be by a preponderant majority of all the nations and people of the world.

The world law, in the limited field of war prevention to which it would be restricted, should apply to all individual persons in the world as well as to all the nations, - to the end that in case of violations by individuals without the support of their governments, the world law could be invoked directly against them without the necessity of indicting a whole nation or group of nations.

The basic rights and duties of all nations in respect of the maintenance of peace should be clearly defined not in laws enacted by a world legislature but in the constitutional document itself. That document should also carefully set forth not only the structure but also the most important powers of the various world institutions established or authorized by it; and the constitutional document should also define the limits of those powers and provide specific safeguards to guarantee the observance of those limits and the protection of individual rights against abuse of power. By this method of "constitutional legislation" the nations and peoples would know in advance

within close limits what obligations they would assume by acceptance of the new world system, and only a restricted field of discretion would be left to the legislative branch of the world authority.

The powers of the world organization should be restricted to matters directly related to the maintenance of peace. All other powers should be reserved to the nations and their peoples. This definition and reservation of powers is advisable not only to avoid opposition based upon fear of possible interference in the domestic affairs of the nations, but also because it is wise for this generation to limit itself to the single task of preventing international violence or the threat of it. If we can accomplish that, we should feel satisfied and could well leave to later generations any enlargement of the powers of the world organization that they might find desirable.

While any plan to prevent war through total disarmament and the substitution of world law for international violence must be fully adequate to the end in view, it must also be acceptable to this generation. To propose a plan lacking in the basic essentials for the prevention of war would be futile. On the other hand, a plan which, however ideal in conception, is so far ahead of the times as to raise insuperable opposition would be equally futile. Therefore, we have tried hard to strike a sound balance by setting forth a plan which, while really adequate to prevent war, would, at the same time, be so carefully safeguarded that it ought to be acceptable to all nations.

It is not out of the question to carry out universal and complete disarmament and to establish the necessary new world institutions through an entirely new world authority but it seems more normal and sensible to make the necessary revisions in the present United Nations Charter.

Questions:

1. In your own words, list the five principles of the Sohn and Clark plan.
2. Do the authors see a need for a world government?
3. What is the main purpose of world law? What role is given to nations and the present United Nations?
4. Do you agree that this plan would be more acceptable at the present time than a world government?
5. How well does this strategy support the universal principle of human survival? of human dignity?

LEARNING PACKAGE III-6
Arms Reduction

Sources:

1. "Defence Budgets Slipping...", Calgary Herald.
2. "It could be a world without a future...", Canadian Press.
3. Cartoon.
4. "Military to get massive shot in arm", Canadian Press.
5. "Attempts at Prognosis" by Mendlovitz.

Instructions:

1. Obtain a copy of each source for each member of the research group.
2. Do a group study of one source at a time following the sequence of sources as listed.
3. Complete each question as given with each source and record these in your notebook. The group should share their information and answers.
4. Complete one "Information Sheet: Alternatives" for distribution to the whole class. Be sure to consult your teacher about this.
5. Organize your presentation to the class. Be sure to consult with your teacher when you reach this step.

Questions:

1. Based on sources 1, 2, 3, 4 and 5, what evidence is there that supports the view that:
 - (a) arms reduction is likely in the near future?
 - (b) arms reduction is unlikely in the near future?
2. What message about arms build-up and the principles of human survival and human dignity is the cartoon communicating?
3. Do you think it is important for Canada to maintain the latest (and most expensive) weapons?
4. Check the chart on page 30 of War and War Prevention by Moore and determine the extent of our defence spending. Are we spending too much or too little?
5. Based on the reading "Attempts at Prognosis" by Mendlovitz:
 - (a) What is the main deterrent to a nuclear war?
 - (b) If a nation had a clear superiority in arms, is it more or less likely to use those arms?
 - (c) Which scenario do you find most likely for the future: arms race, arms stop or disarmament?
 - (d) Does the author believe that arms reductions will ensure peace? (See the answer to the question: "If one can assume that states are prepared to disarm totally, why should one not assume that they could then maintain peace?".)
 - (e) What solution does the author give for the problem of war?

Source 1

Defence budgets slipping, says ambassador

Canada and U.S. defence budgets are shrinking as a percentage of government spending when they should be growing, the U.S. ambassador to Canada said Saturday.

Speaking at a reunion of the First Special Service Force, a Second World War commando unit comprised of Canadians and Americans, Thomas Enders urged that a sus-

tained effort be made to increase arms spending.

The ambassador suggested that defence budgets should be increased at the same rate as economic growth.

He said the U.S. defence budget is down to five-and-a-half per cent of the government's budget from seven per cent 10 years ago.

Canada, he said, was spending three per cent of its budget on defence, but now it's down to two per cent.

"Today the world will judge us by what we can deliver," Enders said.

"It is becoming a dangerous place to live in."

He said attempts to indicate to

the Soviet Union that reduced arms budgets signal a change in world attitude have received little positive reaction.

"Their response has been to increase their military spending three, four and five per cent each year."

Canada and the U.S. are going to have to make greater defence efforts, "against pressure."

Calgary Herald, August 14, 1978.

Source 2

It could be a world without a future,
federalists warn

VICTORIA (CP) — Delegates to the national conference of World Federalists of Canada have concluded that the world has no future unless proliferation of arms is curbed, pollution is effectively combatted, population growth is halted and wealth and resources are shared more fairly.

After three days of debate on disarmament, depletion of reserves and world poverty, the more than 200 delegates agreed during the weekend that change can only be brought about through massive public support and education.

Conference delegates called for more people to get involved in the political process. They should question, for example, Canada's intended expenditure of \$2.25 billion on new fighter planes or the government's sale of arms and nuclear reactors to countries such as South Korea and Pakistan.

Earlier, former provincial Liberal leader David Anderson said the need for more land for cultivation will spell doom to countless animal species.

EXPRESSED SADNESS

"It saddens me to know that such animals as zebra, giraffe, elephant, tiger, lion and chimpanzee, to name only a few of the larger and better-known animals, will probably cease to exist in natural habitats.

"The next 30 years, barring nuclear war, will see a most dramatic change to the existence of the animals' and birds, and even fish populations, than the world has ever seen. It will be animal genocide on a massive scale."

Dr. Derek Sewell, a University of Victoria geography professor, said only one-third of the world has good water supplies and less than 20 per cent has adequate waste disposal systems.

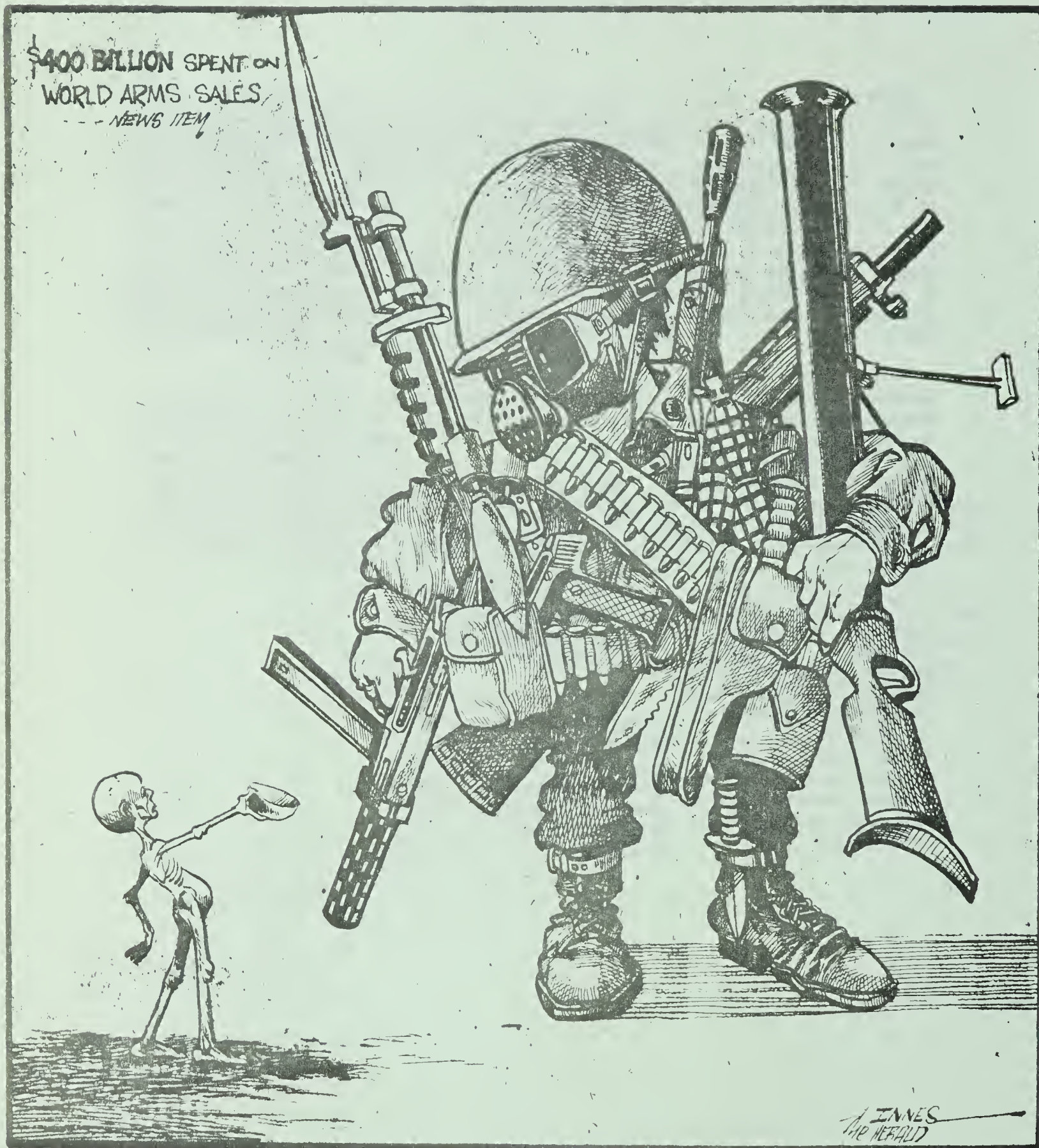
He said lack of irrigation and flood control is creating enormous problems in maintaining an adequate level of food production in developing countries.

Rev. Gerry Grant of Chicago, council chairman of the World Association of World Federalists, called for a new international economic order.

"The Third World nations are not demanding a re-sharing of wealth; they are not asking us to give up our standard of living, but merely to admit them to the trade markets on a footing equal to ourselves," he said.

Copyright Canadian Press.

Source 3



"Whataya think I am . . . made a money?"

Innes, Calgary Herald.

Source 4

Military to get massive shot in arm

KINGSTON, Ont. (CP) - Defence Minister Barney Danson says the Canadian Armed Forces will receive billions of dollars for new equipment and additional manpower in coming years.

Danson described a program aimed at refitting the navy and said the cost will dwarf the \$3.39 billion earmarked for land and air equipment.

He said in an interview Sunday that it would be about eight years before the total naval refit is completed.

Although it was too early to say what type of ship would be bought, he said one of the military's new responsibilities is surveilling and enforcing Canada's new 200-mile fishing limit. Danson said he will press for an additional 4,000 or 5,000 men for the armed forces over the next five years. Canada now has 78,000 men in uniform with an additional civilian staff of about 37,000.

Canadian Press in the
Albertan, March 22, 1977.

Source 5
Attempts at Prognosis

The Probability of an Atomic World War

With continuing technical progress and the current world-political constellation, it is highly probable that there will be an atomic world war before the end of this century. This statement is basic when it comes to assessing the problem of peace. It does not correspond to current public consciousness, at least not on its superficial levels. It must therefore be justified.

To justify this statement it is not necessary to assume acts of madness will occur. It suffices to assume that the governments of the world powers will continue to act according to the rationale of inherited power politics, as they do now. The reason an atomic war is not started today is that it would practically be suicide for the initiator. This in turn is due to a special technical situation, the existence of the second-strike capability of both the current world powers, which cannot be destroyed by the attacker's first blow. This technical situation is a characteristic of today's weapon systems. The dominant weapon system is in a state of flux: it can be said that each system is replaced by a new one about every seven years. Each new weapon system offers the possibility that it may not be able to be stabilized. With respect to the ABM and MIRV systems this theme has been much discussed by the public at large. But should a weapon system not stabilized in this sense of reciprocity come to dominate, it would again seem possible that an atomic war could be won. We will not then be able any more to rely on governments' caution, but only on their desire for peace. But this will be influenced by the possibility that one's own current arms lead may within a

few years pass to the opponent or that the first side to strike will win. According to the classical rules of power politics, in such a situation war will break out sooner or later.

This very terse argumentation is illustrated by three negative utopias. None of them assumes extraordinary malevolence or acts of madness on either side.

1. Arms race. Both world powers today recognize that the preservation of peace is in their mutual interest. But each mistrusts the intention of the other, i.e., each believes the other would grasp the opportunity to achieve a decided lead in armaments. It is the intention of the SALT talks to alleviate the resulting military dangers and economic burdens. The arms-race negative utopia begins by assuming that these talks will fail for practical reasons (inadequate possibilities for inspection and the like). An unchecked arms race ensues, eventually - perhaps in the eighties - leading to the existence of a first-strike capability on one or both sides. The arms race prevents an otherwise possible thaw in political relations between the two sides. The reaction of world opinion and of intellectual youth at home creates such internal political difficulties for one or both governments that the classical way out is taken - war. The side starting the war wins it, but suffers more damage than anticipated. World casualties are initially a few hundred million deaths. There follow one or two decades of confusion during which world population falls by half as the result of hunger, wars, radioactivity, and disease. Finally, the interaction between a centre of power and the general consciousness of the necessity for peace leads to the formation of a world government.

It should be noted that in this relatively banal negative utopia we never assume any actor departs from the

rules of rationality dominant in politics today, but nevertheless consequences arise that none of the players desire. Historically this had often been the case, as in the Thirty Years' War and World War I. We could say we have been warned. But while the public continues to regard atomic war as impossible, the greater technical rationality of the arms specialists is being developed to a point at which, unhindered by full public consciousness of the danger, they "must do the deed, since it was conceived."

2. Arms stop. Here the utopian assumption is that the ongoing series of SALT talks are virtually successful. ABM, MIRV, ULMS and a number of other specifically named weapon systems are not produced. Existing strategic weapon levels are frozen. Sample checks are agreed on and carried out, and no breaches of the agreement are found. It was rightly considered impossible to agree to stop research. World politics, freed from concern over atomic war, applies the means available to promote existing national, imperial and ideological interests. Expenditure on science continues to grow. Research oriented to civilian technologies becomes one of the greatest means to power. Competition between the powers develops into a battle for world domination by civilian means. At infrequent intervals scientists offer the governments new secret weapons. The offers are repeatedly refused but in a situation which has for other reasons become desperate, one of the governments accepts an offer. The result is as outlined in the scenario for the arms race dysutopia.

This negative utopia is banal too. The elimination of current technical threats certainly is beneficial. But as long as there is an interaction between technological progress and the power politics of divided powers, the problem will continue to present itself, each time being

difficult to avoid in a new way, and ultimately perhaps insoluble.

3. Disarmament. Here it must be said in advance that voluntary disarmament of sovereign powers that fear each other is possible only if the balance of power is not substantially altered. This can at best be the case when two powers are involved, and even in such cases only when they feel safe from a third power. This is the reason why historically disarmament has hardly ever led to a relaxation of tension, but has rather followed it. A statesman does not need to be chauvinistic but only to think conservatively and responsibly to be still a very reluctant disarmer. Thus it is utopian in the colloquial sense of the word to assume that the major powers would be prepared to disarm on any larger scale.

But now we make this utopian assumption. A simultaneous radical internal political change in both the major powers brings governments to power who determine once and for all to eliminate the danger of an atomic world war. They manage to reach an agreement with China and Western Europe on the destruction of all atomic weapons, solemnly renounce research, development, and use of atomic, biological and chemical weapons, and make drastic reductions in conventional armaments. They accept the principle of a nation's right to self-determination and abandon military dominance in their satellite systems. To settle international disputes they establish courts, and for communal economic problems create worldwide advisory and executive committees. The idea of a world police force is rejected as a relapse in the direction of outmoded power politics.

It can be left to the imagination of the reader to picture the failure of such a system. The following stages come to mind. The economic domination of capitalist firms

and of state economies calling themselves socialist over former satellites and colonies will not cease and will lead to sharp political conflicts. In various countries "fascist" governments arise or retain power. The larger powers initially refrain from intervention until local wars develop, when they can no longer stand by and watch. This comes about because revolutionary movements ally themselves with segments of the population of the old imperial powers, threatening the major states by the decline of their internal unit. Systems of alliances develop which compel their leading states to rearm, within a qualitative framework of permitted weapon systems, beyond the quantitative limit permitted. The attempts of others to control this danger leads to world war. The never-forgotten knowledge of how to make atomic weapons makes nuclear rearmament possible during the course of the war. This scenario leads back to the first variant, with the order of some of the events reversed.

This negative utopia is less easy to see through than the previous examples because of its deliberately utopian premise. If one can assume that states are prepared to disarm totally, why should one not assume that they could then maintain peace? The answer is that although disarmament could ensue in a wave of emotion in one of those upsurges of hope that occur in history, peace requires a permanent change of structure. The sense of this dysutopia is not to question the possibility of change of structure but to indicate the circumstances in the absence of which such a change could not come about. One cannot allow the material problems of world regions to continue largely unabated and maintain the classical form of political organisation of particular, sovereign states while simply eliminating the military means that previously held

constant tensions in check. In the ensuing pages we must examine the question of whether and under which circumstances a change of structure is possible that will dam up the sources of war. Let us look first at the classical solution.

World Government

World Government is the most conservative utopia for guaranteeing avoidance of future atomic world wars. I would venture three prognoses:

I consider it probable that in the next hundred years a way will be found for the long-term avoidance of major wars, for in a technological age this is a vital necessity, and mankind will have to solve the problem to survive.

I consider it probable that the creation of a world government will be a decisive step in this direction, disregarding the fact that it hardly solves any other problems of mankind.

I am terrified by having to admit that it is increasingly probable that this step will be taken only as the result of an atomic war, for the reasons already given.

World government is the most conservative possible solution. It does not require the cessation of progress in military techniques, which would be impossible today, although such a cessation might be a consequence. It does not require a cessation of conflict, but only the cessation of a particular form of conflict. Again, it does not require any change in the structure of human society but simply extends the well-known pattern of abolition of feudal law by a territorial state to the abolition of war as such. To what extent it will be centrally or federally inclined, technocratic or democratic, strong or weak, enlightened or repressive, will depend on its genesis and the further development of political life under it. Its definitive

task is the prevention of a major war, its inevitable structure therefore an arms monopoly. For most people today this thought is rather shocking. One hopes that only more minor changes would be necessary or believes that other changes are more urgent. World government is regarded as unattainable or, if attained, as frightful. All these objections must be considered.

But I have already indicated why minor changes will not be adequate. If these considerations apply, those other changes deemed more urgent would have to overcome the structure of power politics. I shall discuss this problem later, just saying here that I regard such major changes as not only necessary but also more fundamental, and thus more difficult and requiring more time than the establishment of world government. One should seek to attain them in addition to, not instead of, world government.

It is true that world government is unattainable today; I do not dare suggest it as a relevant utopia for the 1990's. The reason for its unattainability is not human nature, but just the political structure of mankind it is designed to overcome. But its unattainability does not belie its necessity, for not all political problems have a solution. The pessimist's answer is that only an atomic world war will teach the required lesson and result in the new distribution of power necessary for its creation. The optimist's answer would be that a continuous change in consciousness and in power structures would suffice. It is also clear that a world government offers every prospect of being terrifying. If it is a dictatorship, one cannot escape by emigration. If it is based on the manipulation of opinion, where is there room for truth? Which of mankind's great social problems will its existence solve? All the same, I maintain that once it is formed, an

irreversible step in world history will have been made. World civil wars may follow, but never the serious intention to do away with the world unity achieved.

What preferred world for the last decade of our century might one add as a corollary, if this idea is correct? Not the attainment of world government but, dominating public consciousness throughout the world, the necessity of attaining it; in addition, one sees the political forms and social conditions facilitating its attainment. What these forms and conditions would have to be can only be examined after discussing the other values. World war could be avoided if the priorities of politicians and of those on whom they depend for votes were determined by considerations such as those presented here. The danger of war lies in the fact that politics are carried on as if there were no danger of war.

Weizacker, Carl Frederick. "A Sceptical Contribution" in Mendlovitz, S.H. (editor), On the Creation of a Just World Order.

INFORMATION SHEET III-7

Theories on the Cause of War and Solutions

Theory on the Cause of War	Theorist(s)	Describe Theory	Solution(s) Proposed
1.			
2.			
3.			
4.			
5.			
6.			

ARTICLE III-8

Satyagraha

He was soon summoned to Johannesburg. The Transvaal legislature, it was reported, was ready to pass a bill that would require every Indian over eight years old to be fingerprinted and registered, presumably as a means of preventing further migration of Indians into the province.

When the full text of the bill was published in the Transvaal Gazette, Gandhi was stunned. An Indian could be challenged to produce his registration card at any time, at any place; police officers could enter an Indian's home to examine permits; failure to register was to be punishable by imprisonment, heavy fines, or deportation. Such stringent terms could only mean that the government was determined to drive all Indians out of the Transvaal. If the bill became law, if the Indians submitted to it, it would spell "absolute ruin." It had to be resisted.

Gandhi called a mass meeting for September 11 at the Empire Theater in Johannesburg. Three thousand Indians showed up.

As the main agenda item, he had prepared a resolution condemning the bill as a violation of basic civil rights and announcing the unanimous intent of the Indian community not to comply with its provisions should it pass. It was a strong statement and he was uneasy for fear it might boomerang. Unless the community was prepared to back words with action, it would be worse than no statement at all. And what assurance did he have, really, that these people - most of them poor and easily cowed - would hold fast and move together when the time came for follow-through? Was he guilty of asking more commitment than they were able to give? If so, how else could the authorities read the resolution but as an admission of impotence?

He was sitting on the stage, agonized by doubt, when all of a sudden he was jolted to hear one of the warm-up speakers declare that "in the name of God" he would never submit to the law. From this impromptu reference to a solemn oath, there now exploded in Gandhi's mind an entire strategy. A feeling surged through him like nothing he had ever experienced before. Where he had been tense and anxious, he was now exhilarated, confident, firmly calm. When he rose to address the crowd, it was as if everything he had been through during the past twelve years, up to and including his recent vow of bramacharya, had prepared him for this moment.

"The government," he said, "has taken leave of all sense of decency... There is only one course open - to die rather than submit." The struggle would be long, he warned. It meant risk of imprisonment, starvation, flogging, even death. "But I can boldly declare, and with certainty, that so long as there is even a handful of men true to their pledge there can be only one end to the struggle - and that is victory."

He then called on everyone in the audience to join him in a pledge of resistance till death. He did not specify the form of resistance; he only made it clear that it was to be nonviolent. On cue, his fellow Indians rose, raised their hands, and vowed, "with God as our witness," not to submit to the ordinance if it became law. On that resounding note, the meeting adjourned.

He now had the strategy - nonviolent resistance to an unjust law, carried out by masses sworn to God and psychologically prepared for imprisonment or death. But he had no name for it. He rejected the phrase, "passive resistance." There was to be nothing passive about his movement. Moreover, in a meeting with Europeans, he was

told that the term was commonly associated with English suffragettes, that it was sometimes characterized by hatred, and that it often manifested itself as violence. At a loss, he offered a nominal prize through Indian Opinion to the reader who came up with the best suggestion. The winner was his cousin, Maganlal, who coined a word, "Sadagraha" - sad meaning truth and agraha meaning firmness or insistence. For the sake of clarity, Gandhi changed it to Satyagraha. In Gujarati satya means both truth and love and both are attributes of the soul. Satyagraha is thus variously translated as "soul force" or "insistence on truth." Thereafter, Gandhi's organization was known as the Satyagraha Association and its members - the warriors of truth and love - as Satyagrahis.

Kytle, C. Gandhi, Soldier of Nonviolence, pp. 88-89.

ARTICLE III-9
Advice to a Draftee
Leo Tolstoy

Count Tolstoy - novelist, moral philosopher, and social reformer - fought for his Russian homeland in the Crimean War. Following his retirement, he wrote War and Peace which gave him both wealth and respect. In later years he turned against all forms of violence and wealth. At the age of 82 he ran away from home, surrendering all worldly possessions and seeking the life of the common man; he died a few days later. This was a letter he wrote in 1899 to a young friend who was faced with the draft.

In my last letter I answered your question as well as I could. It is not only Christians but all just people who must refuse to become soldiers - that is, to be ready on another's command (for this is what a soldier's duty actually consists of) to kill all those one is ordered to kill. The question as you state it - which is more useful, to become a good teacher or to suffer for rejecting conscription? - is falsely stated. The question is falsely stated because it is wrong for us to determine our actions according to their results, to view actions merely as useful or destructive. In the choice of our actions we can be led by their advantages or disadvantages only when the actions themselves are not opposed to the demands of morality.

We can stay home, go abroad, or concern ourselves with farming or science according to what we find useful for ourselves or others; for neither in domestic life, foreign travel, farming, nor science is there anything immoral. But under no circumstances can we inflict violence on people, torture or kill them because we think such acts could be of use to us or to others. We cannot and may not do such

things, especially because we can never be sure of the results of our actions. Often actions which seem the most advantageous of all turn out in fact to be destructive; and the reverse is also true.

The question should not be stated: which is more useful, to be a good teacher or to go to jail for refusing conscription? but rather: what should a man do who has been called upon for military service - that is, called upon to kill or to prepare himself to kill?

And to this question, for a person who understands the true meaning of military service and who wants to be moral, there is only one clear and incontrovertible answer: such a person must refuse to take part in military service no matter what consequences this refusal may have. It may seem to us that this refusal could be futile or even harmful, and that it would be a far more useful thing, after serving one's time, to become a good village teacher. But in the same way, Christ could have judged it more useful for himself to be a good carpenter and submit to all the principles of the Pharisees than to die in obscurity as he did, repudiated and forgotten by everyone.

Moral acts are distinguished from all other acts by the fact that they operate independently of any predictable advantage to ourselves or to others. No matter how dangerous the situation may be of a man who finds himself in the power of robbers who demand that he take part in plundering, murder, and rape, a moral person cannot take part. Is not military service the same thing? Is one not required to agree to the deaths of all those one is commanded to kill?

But how can one refuse to do what everyone does, what everyone finds unavoidable and necessary? Or, must one do what no one does and what everyone considers unnecessary or even stupid and bad? No matter how strange it sounds, this

strange argument is the main one offered against those moral acts which in our times face you and every other person called up for military service. But this argument is even more incorrect than the one which would make a moral action dependent upon considerations of advantage.

If I, finding myself in a crowd of running people, run with the crowd without knowing where, it is obvious that I have given myself up to mass hysteria; but if by chance I should push my way to the front, or be gifted with sharper sight than the others, or receive information that this crowd was racing to attack human beings and toward its own corruption, would I really not stop and tell the people what might rescue them? Would I go on running and do these things which I knew to be bad and corrupt? This is the situation of every individual called up for military service, if he knows what military service means.

I can well understand that you, a young man full of life, loving and loved by your mother, friends, perhaps a young woman, think with a natural terror about what awaits you if you refuse conscription; and perhaps you will not feel strong enough to bear the consequences of refusal, and knowing your weakness, will submit and become a soldier. I understand completely, and I do not for a moment allow myself to blame you, knowing very well that in your place I might perhaps do the same thing. Only do not say that you did it because it was useful or because everyone does it. If you did it, know that you did wrong.

In every person's life there are moments in which he can know himself, tell himself who he is, whether he is a man who values human dignity above his life or a weak creature who does not know his dignity and is concerned merely with being useful (chiefly to himself). This is the situation of a man who goes out to defend his honor in a duel or a

soldier who goes into battle (although here the concepts of life are wrong). It is the situation of a doctor or a priest called to someone sick with plague, of a man in a burning house or a sinking ship who must decide whether to let the weaker go first or shove them aside and save himself. It is the situation of a man in poverty who accepts or rejects a bribe. And in our times, it is the situation of a man called to military service. For a man who knows its significance, the call to the army is perhaps the only opportunity for him to behave as a morally free creature and fulfill the highest requirements of his life - or else merely to keep his advantage in sight like an animal and thus remain slavishly submissive and servile until humanity becomes degraded and stupid.

For these reasons I answered your question whether one has to refuse to do military service with a categorical "yes" - if you understand the meaning of military service (and if you did not understand it then, you do now) and if you wish to behave as a moral person living in our times must.

Please excuse me if these words are harsh. The subject is so important that one cannot be careful enough in expressing oneself so as to avoid false interpretation.

April 7, 1899

"Tolstoy's Advice to a Draftee", Dennis, Rodney D. (translator). In Cuthbert, R., Issues for the Seventies, pp. 41-43.

PART IV

Synthesis

Overview

Part IV is a synthesis of the research findings of Parts II and III. Some of the key activities and summary charts are reviewed. The major concepts of co-operation and conflict are discussed in the context of study called the "Robbers Cave Experiment". The students are required to apply some of the understandings gained from Parts II and III in a discussion of this study.

It is impossible to predict the exact generalization statements which might emerge from this activity. However, the INTENT of each statement should reflect the UNIT OBJECTIVES (KNOWLEDGE OBJECTIVES 1, 2, 3 and 4) listed at the beginning of this unit. (See Introductory Notes.)

Student Materials

Class sets are required of most of the materials listed below. Please note that alternative suggestions for use are provided after one item.

Activity 11

- | | |
|-------------------|---|
| Data Sheet IV-1: | Scale of Conflict (make overhead) (page 257) |
| Article IV-2: | Robbers Cave Experiment - Background (page 258) |
| Study Guide IV-3: | Robbers Cave Experiment - Stage I (page 271) |
| Study Guide IV-4: | Robbers Cave Experiment - Stage II (page 272) |
| Study Guide IV-5: | Robbers Cave Experiment - Stage III (page 273) |
| Assignment IV-6: | Cartoon Assignment (page 274) |

ACTIVITY 11 - ROBBERS CAVE EXPERIMENT

A. Intention

This activity provides opportunities for students to synthesize ideas from previous activities in preparation for resolving the issue.

B. Objectives

1. Knowledge

- (a) Describe the "Robbers Cave Experiment" in terms of purpose, procedures and outcomes.
- (b) Use examples and illustrations to express understanding of the concepts: conflict, war, limited war, total war, co-operation, peace.

2. Skill

- (a) Apply the findings of the "Robbers Cave Experiment" towards the questions of ensuring world peace.
- (b) Use knowledge gained in the unit to formulate generalizations approximating the following:
 - (i) "Institutions and abstract forces like nationalism represent one dimension of the causes of conflict; leadership and the personality of leaders is also of crucial importance."
 - (ii) "Nations have traditionally been prepared to use whatever means were necessary for their survival."
 - (iii) The 20th century has witnessed significant attempts to ensure peace and co-operation among nations."

- (c) Analyze cartoons to determine their message about co-operation and conflict.

C. Materials

1. Data Sheet IV-1: Scale of Conflict (page 257)
2. Article IV-2: Robbers Cave Experiment - Background (page 258)
3. Study Guide IV-3: Robbers Cave Experiment - Stage I (page 271)
4. Study Guide IV-4: Robbers Cave Experiment - Stage II (page 272)
5. Study Guide IV-5: Robbers Cave Experiment - Stage III (page 273)
6. Assignment IV-6: Cartoon Assignment (page 274)
7. For review purposes:
 - (a) Worksheet II-1: Research Procedures (page 93)
 - (b) Essay Assignment II-30: Why Nations Go to War (page 151)

D. Learning Activities

1. Review with the class the contents of Worksheet II-1, "Research Procedures" from Activity 3. Have the questions raised in the column "What we need to know about the issue" been answered? What else do we need to know? (NOTE: Questions relating to "World Government" will be dealt with in Part V.)
2. Use a short quiz to help review "co-operation and conflict".
 - (a) Ask students to write the meaning of the following, using examples:

- (i) conflict
 - (ii) war
 - (iii) limited war
 - (iv) total war
 - (v) co-operation
 - (vi) peace
- (b) Have students present their interpretations of these concepts to the class using EXAMPLES from their previous work to support their statements.
- (c) Give the students Data Sheet IV-1, "Scale of Conflict" and ask them to assign a number to the following cases.

Possible ratings:

- | | |
|---|--------------------|
| (i) World War I | (approximately 95) |
| (ii) World War II | (approximately 95) |
| (iii) Arab/Israel | (approximately 85) |
| (iv) Hockey violence | (approximately 5) |
| (v) Vietnam (optional) | (approximately 85) |
| (vi) Korea (optional) | (approximately 90) |
| (vii) Others? e.g. refer to the examples from the Bulletin Board Display in Activity 4. | |

3. Justifying War

- (a) Ask students to review the main points of their essay "Why Nations Go to War" from Activity 8. Are they still satisfied with their position on the question? Pursue this in a general class discussion for review and clarification purposes only.

- (b) What did we learn about the justification of war? Ask students to recall their criteria for a "just war". To what extent does it satisfy the principles of human survival and human dignity?

4. Developing generalizations about co-operation and conflict:

- (a) Have the students read Article IV-2, "Robbers Cave Experiment" without any introduction.
- (b) Upon completion of the reading, ask the following questions:
 - (i) Does this experiment teach us anything about co-operation and conflict?
 - (ii) What were the experimenters trying to do in each of the three stages? (Stages I and III - to foster co-operation; Stage II - to foster conflict.)
- (c) In order to understand this article more fully, have students do the following in small groups:
 - (i) complete Study Guides IV-3, IV-4 and IV-5
 - (ii) use findings in a class discussion
- (d) Hold a class discussion around the three stages of the experiment.
 - (i) Stage I focus question: In what ways does this stage represent the forces of nationalism?

Sub questions:

 - What is a Canadian? an American?
 - What common activities do we share?
 - How does Separatism represent a division within the "Canada group"?
 - What symbols do nations have to identify their "group"?
 - What evidence is there of group identity in international sports?

- (ii) Stage II focus question: Does the underlying cause of conflict centre on nationalism and the nation-state?

Sub-questions:

- Do you know of any games that encourage co-operation rather than competition?
- In what way did both groups seek the same objectives? (to beat the other team and get the prizes) In this kind of competition only one can win, thus one must lose. Is there a parallel here to the Arab/Israeli wars?
- Were the groups prepared to use whatever means possible to win? Were "ultimate" weapons like stones considered?
- What "ultimate" weapons were used in World War I and II? e.g. poison gas and atomic bombs
- Who brought "order" when things got carried away? The Staff. When nations "get carried away" is there a "staff" to restore order? Recall the change of leadership in the "Rattlers" group and question 2 of page 2 of the worksheet. Is Stoessinger's hypothesis consistent with the evidence from this experiment?
- Consider the implications of a similar experiment with adults. The "staff" would probably require a police force, jails, weapons, etc.
- What parallel exists between the final Eagles victory and the concept of a "victor's peace" as evidenced by the Treaty of Versailles?
- Should we do away with nation-states in favour of a world government?

- (iii) Stage III focus question: How do we encourage co-operation?

Sub-questions:

- What is hypothesis "A"? Would Canada become more "united" if attacked by another country? Would the world become more "united" if attacked by alien beings? Can you think of cases where common problems bring nations together: e.g. pollution problems, economic problems, OPEC, the U.S.A. and the U.S.S.R. fighting side by side against Nazi Germany, NATO, Warsaw Pact, etc.?
- How is this hypothesis negative? Presumably if you have no problems you have no need to co-operate!

* * *

- Do you recall hypothesis "B"? What effect do cultural exchange programs have on attitude? Do people become more positive or are their negative attitudes reinforced? What is your experience? Do you find that the more you get to know people the better you like them?
- Is this hypothesis a practical alternative to encouraging worldwide co-operation?

* * *

- What do you know about hypothesis "C"? The staff deliberately manipulated the environment of creating tasks requiring co-operation. Is there an equivalent group in the world that could "manipulate" the environment to encourage co-operation? The United Nations? Could a world government play such a role? This question strikes at the heart of the unit issue: "Should we encourage the development of a world government?". Perhaps now we can look at this question more closely and attempt to arrive at some answer to it.

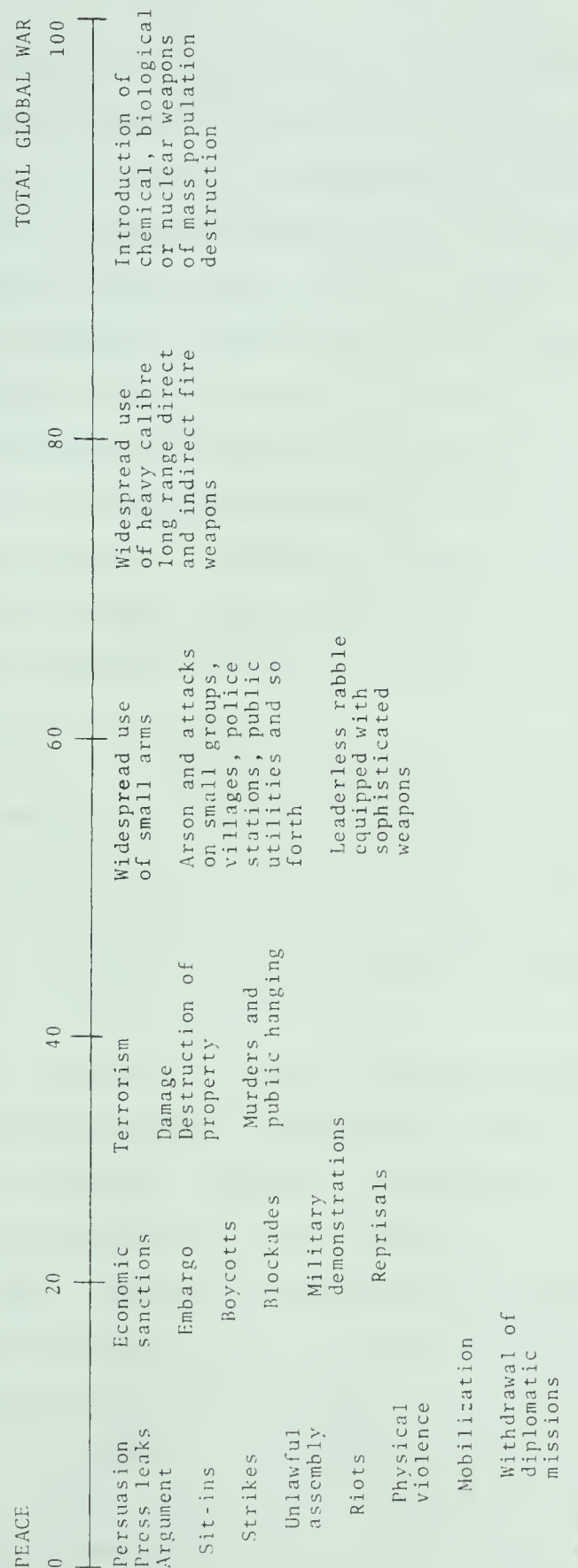
E. Evaluation

Evaluation for this activity is based on the following:

1. Satisfactory completion:
 - (a) Study Guides IV-3, IV-4, IV-5
2. Satisfactory performance:
 - (a) Review activities (See 2a, b, c; 3)
 - (b) Discussion leading to development of generalizations
(See 4b, 4d)
3. Completion of Assignment IV-6, "Cartoon Assignment".
(5 marks awarded)

DATA SHEET IV-1

Scale of Conflict



ARTICLE IV-2

Robbers Cave Experiment

BACKGROUND

How is a cohesive group formed? How does conflict develop between two such groups? What happens within a group in the course of conflict with an outside group? How can rivalry and hostility between groups be turned into cooperation and friendliness? The final answers to such questions may never be known with certainty, so complex are the causes of conflict and cooperation. But several social scientists, under the direction of sociologist Muzafer Sherif of Pennsylvania State University, conducted a series of fascinating experiments with 11- and 12-year-old boys in summer camps that shed light upon important aspects of why groups may conflict and how they may be brought to work in harmony.

What follows is a description of the last of the series, the Robbers Cave Experiment, so called because it took place at a Boy Scout Camp in Robbers Cave State Park, Oklahoma. The cave was given that name because Jesse James and Belle Starr were supposed to have hidden there in the days of the Wild West.

The experimenters went to great lengths to select the boys who would be the subjects of the experiment. A major objective was to assemble a group of boys who would not have any reason to get into conflict, except for what was to happen during the three-week camping trip. The 22 finally chosen, from among 200 considered, were well-adjusted, white, middle-class Protestants from Oklahoma City. All were average or above-average students. None of the boys knew each other before arrival at the camp site.

The boys did not know, of course, that they were "guinea pigs" in an experiment. None suspected throughout the three

weeks at Robbers Cave that most of the camp staff were social science researchers observing their behavior. The activities in which the boys engaged were introduced by the staff and seen by the boys as reasonable and normal for a summer camp. Especially important to understanding the experiment is to realize that at no point were the boys encouraged by words or actions of the staff to hold either feelings of hostility or friendliness toward their own or the other group; rather, the attitudes which emerged were a result of the existence of two groups, with every reason to get along, involved in a series of situations.

The 22 boys were divided into two groups as equally matched as possible in size and skills. The groups were brought to the Park in separate buses, settled in bunkhouses about a half mile apart, and deliberately kept unaware of each other's existence during most of the week that was Stage I. By prearrangement of Dr. Sherif and his colleagues, there were no other campers at Robbers Cave State Park during the experiment. Visitors, including parents, were not allowed. Thus, outside influences upon the boys' behavior were eliminated. Toward the end of the week, each group was allowed to "discover," quite accidentally, the existence of the other group.

While it was not until near the end of Stage I that the two groups gave themselves names, for the sake of convenience we will refer to them as the Rattlers and the Eagles in describing the formation of in-groups.

The Rattlers. The boys became acquainted during their bus ride from Oklahoma City, and on arrival at the Park were plunged into a variety of activities requiring sharing, taking turns, and general cooperation. They went on hikes, explored Robbers Cave, and had a treasure hunt. They also took an overnight camping trip, for which the food was

deliberately provided in bulk so that there would have to be a dividing up of the work to prepare the meals. Also, group singing was organized as a part of church services and campfire programs; in fact, before long the boys began referring to particular songs as "theirs."

Swimming quickly became a very popular part of the day and played an important role in in-group formation. The boys found a swimming hole up Moccasin Creek that ran near both camp sites. While by any objective standards it was not the best place to swim, for these boys it was the best place and - what is more important - their very own. The boys organized a buddy system for keeping track of each other in the water and soon undertook to improve "their" swimming hole, using a chain gang to build a rock approach, and making a diving board. One day the boys found paper cups at the site and blamed "outsiders" for intruding upon their place (the boys themselves had probably left the cups there the day before). By the end of the week, the good swimmers were helping the beginners so that all could share in the fun. One non-swimmer, sidelined with an injured hand, was told by the others that when his hand had healed they would help him "so that we will all be able to swim."

A canoe was secretly placed near the cabin by the staff, and the boys decided to take it to the swimming hole. This required the cooperative effort of a number of boys because of the canoe's size. One boy hurt his toe but kept quiet about it, and this was the beginning of a series of minor hurts - as always happens in camping - and a stoical reaction of not complaining or crying.

Not by accident, caps and T-shirts were made available by the canteen, and the boys decided to adopt the name of Rattlers (they had encountered rattlesnakes in the Park) and stencil it on the shirts, along with a snake design. A flag was made and similarly marked. With the growing sense of

group feeling and belonging together, it is perhaps not surprising that one of the boys put up a sign in their cabin reading "Home Sweet Home."

Baseball was the favorite sport of both groups. During Stage I, the Rattlers, as well as the Eagles, organized a team in which positions became well-established. They each engaged in "workouts" (rather than competition) on the one baseball diamond, but at different times. Toward the end of the first week, the Rattlers "discovered" the Eagles. The next day the Rattlers were talking resentfully of the intrusion on "their" baseball diamond, on which they had made some improvements. When informed by staff that the other group wanted to challenge them in a baseball game, their reaction was, "They can't. We'll challenge them first... They've got a nerve..." But the challenge was readily accepted; indeed, the boys thought of other possibilities for competition with their new found rivals.

The Eagles. The other 11 boys underwent a similar development in group feeling through activities encouraging cooperation. They, too, went on an overnight campout, had a treasure hunt and practiced baseball. They had also discovered a swimming spot, to which they had carried a canoe. Despite the fact that they had killed a dangerous copperhead snake nearby, saw another snake in the water, and had a much more attractive place to swim elsewhere, by the third day of Stage I it had become "their" place. Unlike the Rattlers, they organized to make a rope bridge across the creek that would support a half dozen boys at one time.

The Eagles had trouble with homesickness, which the Rattlers did not. By the end of Stage I, two Eagles were clearly unhappy, one crying often. They were quietly allowed to leave and when their departure was discovered, the other Eagles seemed to feel strengthened. The weak ones were now gone. As one boy put it, "They chickened out."

Another boy, who had previously shown signs of homesickness himself, said, "They are the only boys who will."

In the case of the Eagles, it was the discovery of the other group that led to the adoption of a name, stencilled T-shirts, and caps with an "E" on them. They also made a flag with an eagle insignia to fly on the baseball field when they played.

STAGE II: FORMATION OF INTERGROUP RIVALRY

By the end of Stage I, each group was anxious to engage the other in competitive games, and they were enthusiastic when the camp staff proposed a whole series of events in a tournament with prizes, including highly desirable knives. The contests were of two kinds: those requiring physical skill and strength (baseball, tug-of-war, touch football, and tent pitching), and those requiring different talents (cabin inspection, skits and songs, and treasure hunting). The latter events were included so that if one group tended to dominate in the games requiring physical skills, the staff could even things out, to some extent at least, by giving the losing group advantages in the other contests. A running score on rising "thermometers" was kept for all to see.

The first event was baseball, and the tone was set when the Eagles approached the field with their flag on a pole and singing the theme from Dragnet. This was followed by name-calling, in which the Rattlers excelled. In the course of the game they called out, "You're not Eagles, you're pigeons!" and sang, "The first Eagle hit the deck, parley-voo...", etc. At the same time there were displays of sportsmanship, and at the end of the game the teams cheered each other.

After the baseball game, which the Rattlers won, the two groups ate together for the first time in the mess hall.

Here the name-calling and razzing continued. The saying of grace by the boys became an opportunity to thank or appeal to God for victory. For example, one Rattler prayed, "Dear Lord, we thank Thee for the food and for the cooks that cooked it, and for the ball game we won today." Prayers were also offered before games and at night, and the leader of the Eagles sincerely believed that prayer had turned the tide, the third game when the Eagles won in baseball.

The Eagles also lost the first tug-of-war even though they had practiced for 45 minutes. Craig, who had become the Eagle leader in the peaceful First Stage, walked away from the rope when he saw the Rattlers were going to win. Three days later he was to take a back seat in an Eagle raid on the Rattlers. In fact, Craig had little stomach for the intense rivalry and conflict that increased daily during the Second Stage. The baseball captain, Mason, was more aggressive and soon replaced him as leader.

After a day of defeats, the Eagles were dejected and claimed that the Rattlers must be at least 8th graders. On the way back to their cabin, the Eagles noticed that the Rattler flag was still on the ballfield backstop where it had been placed at the beginning of the game. They pulled it down, tried to tear it up, and decided to set it on fire. What was left of the burned flag was put back up, whereupon the boys sang "Taps." Mason said to his followers, "You can tell those guys I did it if they say anything. I'll fight 'em!"

The next morning the Rattlers discovered what had happened to their flag and planned revenge. The Rattler baseball team captain would ask the Eagles whether they burned the flag; if they said yes, he was to begin fighting and the others were to join in. Simpson, the baseball captain, did ask, and the Eagles admitted their act. While words were hurled back and forth, some Rattlers seized the

Eagle flag and burned it. The encounter led to fist fighting, and the staff had to intervene.

(It is important to note that very often the boys who clamored most loudly for drastic action against the other side were not the most popular boys within their own group. The same low status members were also the ones to use the most extreme language against "the enemy." However, aggressive acts, such as raids, were not carried out unless approved by the leaders, or boys of high status.)

After the fighting was stopped, the second baseball game took place and the Eagles won. They attributed their victory not only to prayer but to the fact that the Rattlers swore all the time. The Eagles decided that they would not do any cussing henceforth; and, because the Rattlers were so bad, they would not talk to them anymore. Rattler morale dropped after the game and the boys began to blame each other for letting the team down. Two boys became so disgusted they said they were going to write their parents for permission to go home. Unity was finally restored by some joking, and the two boys tore up their letters publicly.

The second tug-of-war was won by the Eagles by a clever strategy - they dug their heels into the ground and let the Rattlers tire themselves out. The Rattlers, feeling they had lost the tug-of-war by unfair tactics, raided the Eagles' cabin that night after "lights-out." Mason distinguished himself by his bravery, whereas the former leader, Craig, pretended to be asleep. The Eagles wanted to retaliate at once and talked of using rocks, but the staff stopped any further action that night. The Eagles, however, counter-raided after breakfast the next day.

At the beginning of the last day of the tournament, the Rattlers were one point behind. But Rattler morale was high and, as the Eagles entered the mess hall for breakfast, they sang, "The enemy's coming..." After breakfast, the

Rattlers decided to put their flag on "everything that's ours," including "home" (their cabin) and "our baseball diamond." Despite their spirit, the Rattlers lost the tournament by a narrow margin. All the prizes of knives and medals went to the previously underdog Eagles, and Mason broke down and cried with joy.

While the Eagles were away at their swimming hole in a victorious mood, the losers raided their cabin, stealing the knives and medals. When the Eagles returned and discovered the damage and thefts, they rushed to the Rattlers' cabin. Challenges to fight were flung back and forth. Mason refused to fight either of the two biggest Rattlers, and the smaller ones refused to fight Mason, whereupon he strode away toward the Eagles' cabin. The Rattlers followed, jeering all the way. Violence broke out, and the staff had to force the Rattlers back to their cabin. As they were pushed up the trail, the Eagles followed, yelling that the Rattlers were cowards and running away. Later the Eagles persuaded each other that they had chased the Rattlers "over halfway back to their cabin" and won a "victory."

Relations between the two groups had reached the point by the end of Stage II that they did not even want to eat in the same mess hall at the same time. Contact produced name-calling, the Eagles calling the Rattlers "poor losers" and "bums"; the Rattlers calling the Eagles "sissies," "cowards," and "little babies." Each group viewed the other with hostility and mistrust. Raids and destructive acts were expected even when not being planned by the opponents. The Eagles inspected their swimming place and concluded that more rocks had been deliberately put in the water by the Rattlers although this was not the case.

At the end of Stage II, the boys participated in one more contest - the bean toss - although they did so

unwillingly because it meant further contact with the other group. In this event, beans were tossed out on the ground by the staff, and the object was for each boy to pick up as many beans as he could in a minute's time and place them in a paper bag. They were told not to bother counting the beans as they deposited them in the bags since they would be counted later.

Afterwards, all the boys went to the recreation hall where they were shown on a screen by means of an opaque projector what was supposed to be each boy's collection. Actually, 35 beans were shown in every case; however, the picture remained on the screen for only 5 seconds, too little time to count the beans. The boys wrote down their estimate of the number of beans for each boy. The winner of the bean toss was that group, Rattler or Eagle, that had the best record in estimating the number of beans for each boy. Both groups overestimated the performances of boys in their own group and underestimated the performances of the other, but the Rattlers came closest and won the \$5.00 prize.

At the end of Stage II the experimenters asked each boy to express his opinion of boys in both groups by use of adjectives from a list. Almost without exception, the boys chose three favorable words to describe their own group - "brave," "tough," and "friendly." Members of the other group were described as "sneaky," "smart alecks," and "stinkers." The head of the experimental team of social scientists summed up intergroup behavior at this point as follows:

If an outside observer had entered the situation at this point, with no information about preceding events, he could only have concluded on the basis of their behavior that these boys (who were the "cream of the crop" in their communities) were a wicked, disturbed, and vicious bunch of youngsters. (Muzafer Sherif, In Common Predicament. Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1966, page 85.)

STAGE III: FORMATION OF INTERGROUP COOPERATION

The investigators were now faced with the task of having to find ways in which the two groups could overcome their rivalry and feelings of hostility and become cooperative with each other. In another, similar experiment with 11- and 12-year-old boys, Dr. Sherif and colleagues had introduced a common threat to both groups: that is, a third group which became rivals of the first two combined. This method did result in cooperation between the two original groups, but, by adding a new enemy, conflict was not eliminated but transferred to another group. At Robbers Cave, the experimenters decided to attempt other ways of reducing or eliminating the friction between Rattlers and Eagles.

First, they tried bringing the boys together in situations where they were in contact but not competing. (Behind this method is the notion that if people are brought together, they will come to know each other and become friends.) So, the staff tried such strategies as deliberately keeping the two groups waiting in front of the mess hall before meals so that they would rub elbows. However, this led to further name-calling and friction. (A favorite taunt of the group that entered the mess hall last was to yell at the other, "Ladies first!" Later the boys adopted a system of taking turns going into meals.) Battles during meals, using food and paper as weapons, became frequent, along with the usual name-calling and yelling. The staff tried changing seating arrangements so that not all of each group could sit together as a bloc, but that simply caused more food throwing. Another means of bringing the boys together was to show films to Rattlers and Eagles at the same time. This, as well as other efforts, produced little noticeable improvement in intergroup relations.

Mere contact between the groups having failed, the social scientists tried introducing "spontaneous" situations in which cooperation between the two groups was required to reach a goal both desired. The first of these was to create a problem of water supply for the groups. Staff members closed the valve from the storage tank about 1 1/4 miles above the camp and put boulders on it. The faucet at the tank was stuffed with sacking which the boys would have to find some way of removing in order to get a drink when they finally arrived very thirsty from inspecting the long pipe for leaks. The removal of the sacking turned out to be a long job that involved most of the boys without much regard for group membership. A Rattler, for example, offered the use of his knife, to which a leading Eagle replied that he would shake hands with him if it worked. While the group effort to restore the flow of water to the camp resulted in somewhat better relations, at supper the "garbage fight" (as it had come to be called) was resumed.

The second project placed before the boys was to rent a movie which was too expensive for either group alone. The movie, Treasure Island, would cost \$15. The camp agreed to pay something, but not all, and the boys would have to assume some of the cost. There were various suggestions: one Eagle said the camp should pay \$5, the Rattlers (winners of the bean toss) \$10, and the Eagles nothing. A Rattler suggested that the Eagles pay \$5 and the Rattlers \$2. An Eagle suggestion was eventually adopted - that each group pay \$3.50, with the staff and the camp paying the rest. Several boys from each group figured out how much each individual would have to pay, and the movie was rented and enjoyed by all.

One situation came up quite accidentally. Rattlers had been chopping a big, dead pine tree, and had reached

a point where they could chop no longer without danger to themselves, but dared not leave it standing. A Rattler suggested that they all have a tug-of-war against the tree; and, to their mutual satisfaction, both Rattlers and Eagles joined in pulling the tree down with the same rope that had been used to pull against each other.

A major activity in bringing about cooperation was a camp-out to a lake some distance away. Two trucks transported Rattlers and Eagles and their gear separately. Soon after arrival, the boys whetted their appetites by a good, long swim. While they were in the water, one of the trucks was driven off by a staff member. And, after the swim, it was arranged that the other truck would "break down" as it was about to go pick up food for the hungry boys. The tug-of-war rope had been brought along and casually left (by a staff member) near the truck. A Rattler got the idea of using the rope to pull the truck to get it started, and the rest enthusiastically joined in. After the boys got it going, as a result of using a "heave, heave" rhythm to get it up a hill, a Rattler shouted, "We won the tug-of-war against the truck!" An Eagle answered, "Yeah! We won the tug-of-war against the truck." This was followed by much backslapping and friendliness over a task well-done.

The same camp-out was used for similar experiences. Tent poles and other accessories had been carefully mixed up by the staff, requiring the groups to swap parts before they could pitch their tents. The truck was deliberately "stalled" again, with the same tug-of-war resulting. Food was brought in bulk, necessitating a division of labor and cooperation to prepare the evening meal.

Another trip was planned, this time into Arkansas. After the boys' enthusiasm for the trip was high it was

announced that the trip might have to be canceled since one truck clearly was not dependable, as the boys knew from the camp-out. After some disagreement and hesitation over the idea of all going in a single truck, two boys said, "Let's go!" and started running for a place in the truck. The others took off after them, settling the issue by action. The trip itself provided further opportunities for getting together: group singing, coke stops at which seating could not be by groups, etc.

The last night of the experiment, there was a campfire program devoted to skits and singing. The groups took turns entertaining each other and sang songs together. The next and last day, the boys agreed that they would like to go back home on one bus. When they got on the bus, the seating was no longer by groups. During the refreshment stop, the Rattler leader suggested that they use the \$5 they had won on the bean toss to treat all to malted milk shakes, which was readily agreed to by the other Rattlers. As the bus neared Oklahoma City and home, some of the boys in the front started singing "Oklahoma," from the musical. The rest went crowding into the front and happily joined in the singing, now as one group.

Nesbitt, W. A. et al. Teaching Youth About Conflict and War, pp. 50-59.

STUDY GUIDE IV-3
Robbers Cave Experiment
Stage I

"How was co-operation within the group achieved?"

EVENTS/ACTIVITIES/ITEMS TO PROMOTE CO-OPERATION	DID IT WORK? GIVE EVIDENCE
1. The bus ride	
2. Hiking, exploring, treasure hunt	
3. Bulk foods for camping	
4. Group singing	
5. Swimming hole	
6. Canoe	
7. Flags, T-shirts, caps	
8. Baseball game	
9. Others?	

STUDY GUIDE IV-4
Robbers Cave Experiment
Stage II: Developing Inter-Group Conflict

"How was inter-group conflict achieved?"

1. List and briefly describe each of the steps leading to the outbreak of physical violence.

2. Why was there a change in leadership in the "Rattlers" group? Decide whether the circumstances created the leaders or whether the leaders created the circumstances.

STUDY GUIDE IV-5
Robbers Cave Experiment

Stage III: Developing Inter-group Co-operation

"Which hypothesis proved successful in promoting inter-group co-operation?"

1. "Common enemy hypothesis":

(a) Explain hypothesis.

(b) Was it tried?

2. "Contact situations hypothesis":

(a) Explain hypothesis.

(b) Steps taken to achieve co-operation.

(i) _____

(ii) _____

(iii) _____

(c) Did it work?

3. "Co-operative tasks hypothesis":

(a) Explain hypothesis.

(b) Steps taken to achieve co-operation. (Use back of page if necessary.)

(i) _____

(ii) _____

(iii) _____

(c) Did it work?

ASSIGNMENT IV-6
Cartoon Assignment

Directions:

Study the two cartoons below and answer these questions:

1. Which cartoon reflects your opinion about co-operation and conflict in the world today?
2. What is the most important message in each one?
3. What human values underly each of the messages? Why do you think so?

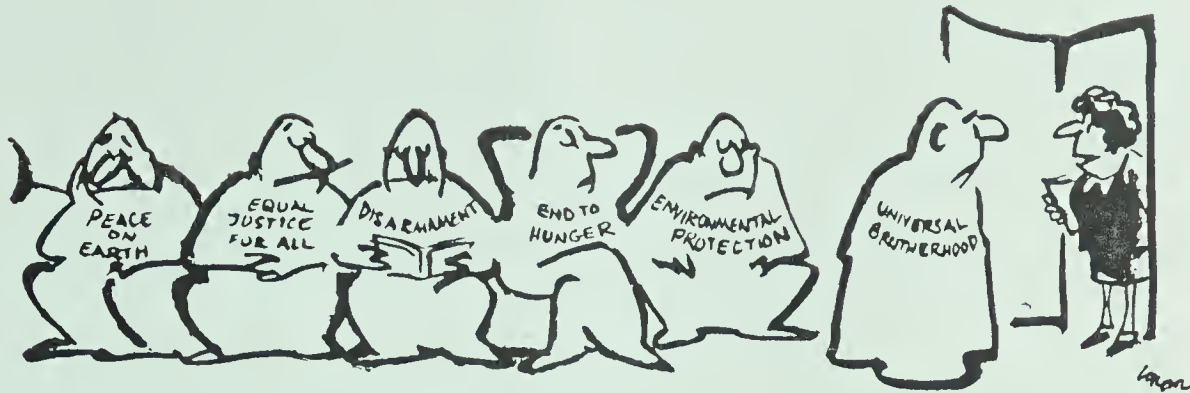
Marks: 5 points.

Cartoon A



"This is it, men! The planet we've been looking for!"
Drawing by Herbert Goldberg: © 1970 The New Yorker Magazine, Inc.

Cartoon B



"Be patient. When your time comes, we'll call you." Drawing by Lorenz: © 1971 The New Yorker Magazine, Inc.

PART V

Resolving The Issue

Overview

At the end of Part I, the issue for the unit was identified: "Should we encourage the development of a world government to ensure peace?" Parts II, III and IV provided a broad conceptual base for understanding the issue. Part V will re-focus on the issue, develop the concept of world government and finally lead to a decision on the issue.

Student Materials

Class sets are required of most of the materials listed below. Please note that an alternative suggestion for use is provided in brackets after one item.

Activity 12

- Article V-1: A Tentative Proposal (page 290)
- Article V-2: World Institutions (page 296)
- Chart V-3: Central Guidance in the Preference Model
(make an overhead) (page 301)
- Article V-4: (Optional) The Anatomy of Peace (page 302)
- Article V-5: Small Powers (page 316)

Activity 13

- Essay Sample V-6: (page 320)
- Article V-7: (Optional) Establishing the Limits of War
(page 322)

ACTIVITY 12; RE-FOCUS THE ISSUEA. Intention

The students have spent a lot of time gathering information about the issue. It is now time to look directly at the issue. The issue should be much more meaningful to students now than in Part I when it was introduced. This activity will deal with the concept of world government and set the stage for the next activity which will require the students to decide on the issue.

B. Objectives1. Value

- (a) Select a preferred world order model.
- (b) Judge the value of various world order models.

2. Knowledge

- (a) Compare the United Nations to a proposed world government.
- (b) Describe several world order models as presented by various authors.
- (c) Describe some implications to various nations if a world government was instituted.
- (d) Describe the role of the citizen in a proposed world government.

3. Skill

- (a) Infer the position of two writers on the "should" question.

- (b) Speculate on the changes in role of small versus great powers in the event of the creation of a world government.
- (c) Evaluate the role of nation-states in a world government designed for peace.

C. Materials

1. Moore, J. and R., War and War Prevention, Hayden Book Co., Inc., Rochelle Park, N.J., 1974. Chapter 8
2. Feder, B., Viewpoints in World History, Litton Educational Pub. Inc., N.Y., 1974. pages 578-579
3. Article V-1: A Tentative Proposal (page 290)
4. Article V-2: World Institutions (page 296)
5. Chart V-3: Central Guidance in the Preference Model (make an overhead) (page 301)
6. Article V-4: (Optional) The Anatomy of Peace (page 302)
7. Article V-5: Small Powers (page 316)

D. Learning Activities

1. Present the following to the class:
 - (a) Recall the "should" question established in Part I: "Should we encourage the development of a world government?". This issue contains two clusters of sub-issues. One cluster deals with the issue of "peace versus war" or "co-operation versus conflict", basically the subject of Parts II, III and IV. The other cluster of issues revolves around the notion of world government.

Thus, issues relating to nationalism versus internationalism need to be further explained. The issue is more than a question of encouraging peace. It refers to a particular way of encouraging peace, specifically through the concept of a world government. Let us examine this concept more closely.

- (b) Read the following quotation from Paul Ramsey's book,

The Just War (page 141) to the class:

"Question: How do porcupines make love?
Answer: Carefully!"

This is a parable of the nations in a multi-national world. They can't get along with and they can't get along without one another. They make love and reach settlements, or they make war when they cannot reach or postpone settlements -- all, carefully!"

- (i) Is Ramsey suggesting that the role of nations today is questionable? Can we count on nations to ensure peace?
- (ii) The following quotation is from Lin Piao when he was the Chinese Defence Minister under Mao Tse-tung:

"We are confident that the people will bring to an end the epoch of wars in human history... But there is only one way to eliminate it, and that is to oppose war with war, to oppose counter-revolutionary war with revolutionary war."

How does the above statement compare with the following one by Ramsey?

"There is nothing more like a pacifist than a believer in massive deterrence: both think it possible to banish the use of force from human history before banishing the porcupine nation-states from off this planet." (Ramsey, The Just War. page 141)

(Piao is talking about ensuring peace through

powerful nations while Ramsey is talking about banishing nation-states.)

- (iii) Based on the quotations, where do you think the two would stand on our "should" question?

2. Present the concept of world government to the class by having them study Chapter VIII of Moore, War and War Prevention, and do the following:

- (a) List the major deficiencies of the United Nations as identified by the Clark-Sohn plan. If the United Nations adopted these changes would the United Nations become a world government?
- (b) Summarize the essential features of the world government as proposed by the "World Association of World Federalists" and by the "Institute of World Government". Use the following categories:
 - (i) Citizenship/Allegiance
 - (ii) Representation (compare the number of representatives from Canada and other nations like the U.S.A. and China.)
 - (iii) Legislative Branch
 - (iv) Executive Branch
 - (v) Judicial Branch
 - (vi) Armed Forces
- (c) How do you feel personally about the prospects of world government?

3. Explore the implications of a world government with the class. Have them read pages 578-579 of Feder, Viewpoints in World History and answer these questions:

- (i) What is the main point made in the article by Cousins? Do you think he would agree with the concept of a world government?
 - (ii) Can you summarize the main points in the article by Watts? Do you think he would be in favour of a world government? Is Watts primarily an Internationalist or a Nationalist?
- 4. Have students either create or identify a preferred world order model using pages 42-43 of Moore, War and War Prevention, as a guide. They should state where the following types of nations would fit in the model: weak powers (e.g. Kenya), middle powers (e.g. Canada), and super-powers (e.g. U.S.S.R.) and give reasons for preference of that model. (See also Chart V-3: Central Guidance in the Preference Model.)
- 5. Have students explore other ideas for re-structuring the world. Assign the reading of Article V-1, "A Tentative Proposal" and Article V-2, "World Institutions", and completion of the following questions:
 - (a) Do you think that nations would generally agree to a re-structuring of the world according to the 24 regions proposed by Kothari? What major objections could you expect to such a plan by Canada?
 - (b) Do you think that Communist and Non-Communist nations could share a region?
 - (c) Which World Order Model (see previous model) does this plan seem to fit?
 - (d) Would this plan enhance the cause of peace?

- (e) Does the plan to re-structure the United Nations into a world government seem reasonable to you? Identify any major obstacles in the way of such a plan.

6. (Optional) "The Anatomy of Peace"

The following article by Reves, "Article V-4: The Anatomy of Peace", on the concept of a world government, is a sophisticated treatment of the subject and is included here for enrichment purposes only. The article and related questions could be useful to some students with a high reading ability. You might choose to present the sample model to the class in a lecture-discussion format.

- (a) Do you agree with Reves that the time has come for nations to merge into a more "supreme, central, universal source of law"? (page 360)
- (b) Do you agree with the assessment that "Man in society is constantly seeking security and freedom"? (page 360)
In your opinion, would a world government provide more security and freedom than at present? Explain your position.
- (c) Construct a model showing the evolution and future of the Nation State as seen by Reves. The previous work on world order models may help.
For example:

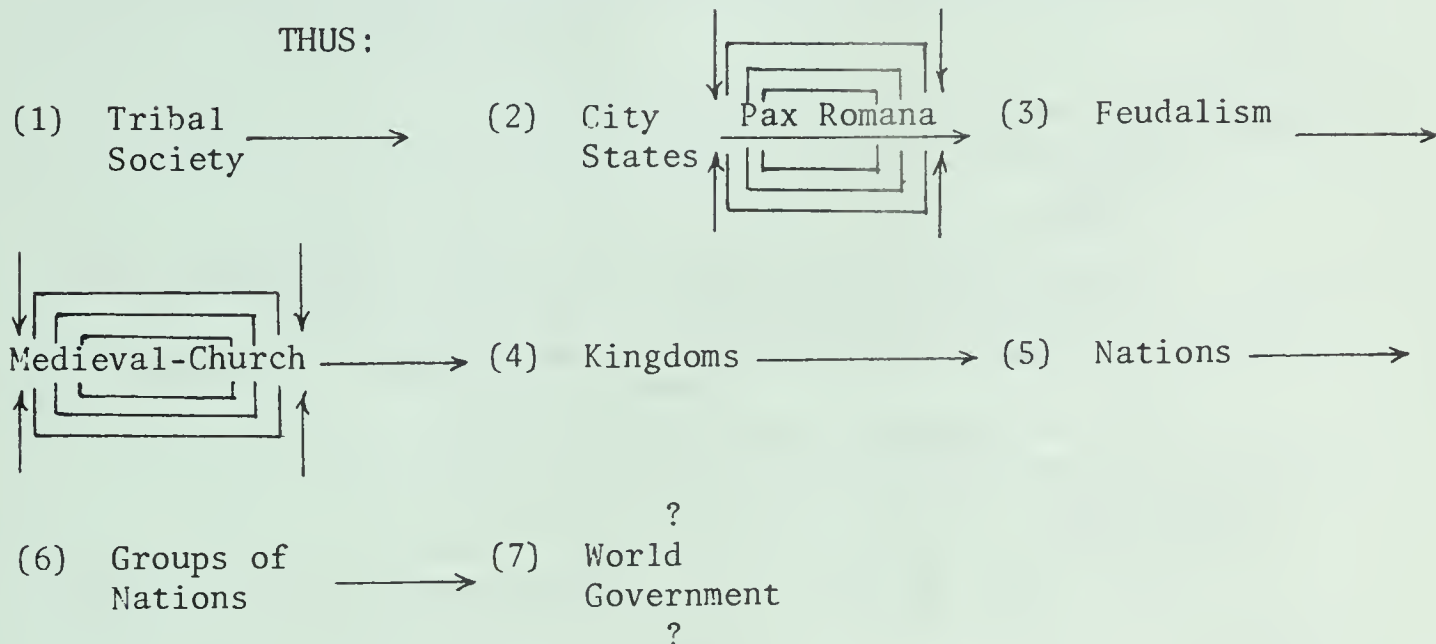
Pax Romana = One Country Rule

Feudalism &
Separate Nations = Multipolar World

Groups of Nations
e.g. Commonwealth = Bipolar World or Regionalism

World Government = Legal World Order

THUS:



7. Have students read Article V-5, "Small Powers", and do the following:

- (a) Apply Aesop's fable to the idea of world government. Do you agree that a world government is an "impossible remedy"? Who would be most opposed to a strong world government -- the small powers or the great powers?
- (b) Why are the great powers more interested in the status quo?
- (c) According to the author, what role should small powers play in the United Nations? Would this role change if the United Nations became a world government?

ACTIVITY 13: DECIDING ON THE ISSUEA. Intention

The main task of this activity is to help the students to reach a decision on the "should" question and to outline the expectations of the paper that the students will be required to write.

B. Objectives1. Value

Defend a position on the issue which is consistent with a personal interpretation of the universal principles of human survival and human dignity.

2. Skill

- (a) Apply an understanding of co-operation and conflict in support of a decision on the issue.
- (b) Construct an essay expressing a personal position on the issue.

C. Materials

- 1. Essay Sample V-6: (page 320)
- 2. Article V-7: (Optional) Establishing the Limits of War (page 322)

D. Learning Activities

- 1. The students should now be able to use the information gained in this unit to decide on the issue. They will need to do three things:

- (i) explain the "should" question
 - (ii) take a position on the question
 - (iii) defend the position
- (a) Explaining the issue: "Should we encourage the development of a world government?".

Discussion points:

- (i) The question assumes peace is more desirable than war. Do you agree with the assumption?
 - (ii) Recall definitions of war and peace.
 - (iii) The question assumes that the best way to ensure peace is through a world government. What is world government?
 - (iv) Recall other alternatives from Part III such as arms reduction, alliances, etc. How do these alternatives compare to the option of world government?
 - (v) Finally, the question assumes we will DO something if we agree to encourage this development.
- (b) Taking a position on the issue:

Discussion points:

- (i) There are three positions to choose from: YES, NO and UNDECIDED.
- (ii) Based on your work in the unit, categorize evidence as follows:

Reasons Supporting an Affirmative Position	Reasons Supporting a Negative Position
<p>For example:</p> <p>Nation-states stand in the way of peace.</p> <p>Other alternatives have proven ineffective.</p> <p>Aggression is learned not instinctive.</p>	<p>World government is impractical.</p> <p>Aggression is instinctive and will always be with us.</p> <p>There are much better alternatives.</p> <p>Nations serve a necessary function.</p>

The UNDECIDED position is possible if the arguments for and against the issue are equally compelling. These students need to demonstrate that the evidence is such that they cannot decide on a "yes" or "no" basis.

(c) Defending your position:

(i) Assemble all the evidence you can to support your decision.

(ii) Demonstrate how your position supports the universal value principles of human survival and human dignity.

2. In preparation for writing the essay, you may wish to supply students with Essay Sample V-6. This sample does not deal with the values component adequately. This should be pointed out to the class. It is essential that students speak directly to the question of world government, and that in addition to its feasibility, the desirability of establishing world government be considered also. In establishing "desirability" of such action, it is necessary for students to relate such value principles as human survival and human dignity to the question. This part of the essay could be dealt with towards the end of the essay. (See Essay Sample V-6.)
3. (Optional) Article V-7, "Establishing the Limits of War", might be useful if further help is needed with the organization and development of the essay. There are good ideas on the use of historical examples to set the stage for contemporary problems. Also, the article could be of use in reviewing some of the material from Parts II, III and IV.

E. Evaluation: Personal Position on the Issue

Write a 2000 word paper expressing your position on the issue; "Should we encourage the development of a world government?".

Your paper must include the following:

1. your understanding of the issue
2. your personal position on the issue as based on your interpretation of the universal principles of human survival and human dignity
3. a logical development of arguments defending your choice using SOME or ALL of the following:
 - (i) cause and justification of war
 - (ii) the need for peace
 - (iii) an evaluation of historical attempts to ensure peace
 - (iv) an explanation of world government

Marks: 30

ARTICLE V-1
A Tentative Proposal

The exact delimitation of possible regional federations will require a detailed inventory of resources, economies, communications, social structures, and political attitudes that was clearly not possible to undertake for this limited exercise. Nonetheless, we offer below a very rough and tentative sketch that appeals to the eye as one looks at the world map in the light of our model. The regions proposed are by no means comparable on any single criterion or group of criteria. But they broadly satisfy the condition of having the chance to develop into viable economic communities whose functioning would in time give rise to regional identities and solidarities that may lead to some form of federal political arrangements. Care has also been taken to see that even though all the regions cannot be made comparable in power and status, there are nevertheless a sufficient number of large units of comparable size and status to prevent both the domination of the world by a handful of giants and the likelihood of direct conflict between two or more such giants.

ROUGH SKETCH OF POSSIBLE REGIONS OF THE WORLD

1. The Russian Region: U.S.S.R., Byelorussia, Ukraine, and Mongolia.
2. Northern Europe: Norway, Sweden, Finland, and Iceland.
3. East Central Europe: The German Democratic Republic, Poland, Czechoslovakia, Hungary, Rumania, and Bulgaria.
4. The Mediterranean Region: Yugoslavia, Albania, Greece, Turkey, Cyprus, Lebanon, and possibly Israel.
5. The EEC Region: The German Federal Republic, France, Belgium, Denmark, Netherlands, Luxemburg, Italy, Ireland, United Kingdom, and the very small but sovereign states

of Malta, Andorra, Monaco, San Marino, Liechtenstein and Vatican City State, with the possible future membership of Switzerland and Austria, and still later of Spain and Portugal.

6. The Persian Gulf Region: Iran, Kuwait, Saudi Arabia, the two Yemens, Oman, and the Persian Gulf States including Bahrain, Qatar, and the Trucial States.
7. The Arab World: Iraq, Jordan, Syria, Egypt, Sudan, Libya, Tunisia, Algeria, and Morocco.
8. West Africa with possibly two subunits: (i) French-speaking West Africa: Liberia, Ivory Coast, Upper Volta, Mali, Guinea and Guinea-Bissau (though the latter is Portuguese-speaking), Senegal, Mauritania, Togo, Dahomey, Niger, and Spanish Sahara (Spanish-speaking); (ii) English-speaking West Africa: Gambia, Sierra Leone, Ghana, and Nigeria.
9. East Africa: Uganda, Kenya, Tanzania, Rwanda, Burundi, and Mozambique, perhaps along with Ethiopia and Somalia.
10. Central Africa: Central African Republic, Cameroon, Gabon, Congo (Brazzaville), Zaire (Kinshasa), Zambia, Malawi, Angola, Chad, and Equatorial Guinea.
11. South Africa: Zimbabwe, Namibia, Botswana, Lesotho, Swaziland, Malagasy Republic, Mauritius, and South Africa.
12. South Asia: India, Pakistan, Afghanistan, Sri Lanka, Bangla Desh, the Himalayan kingdoms of Nepal, Bhutan and Sikkim, and Maldive Islands.
13. Southeast Asia: Burma, Thailand, Malaysia, Singapore, Philippines, and Indonesia (including West Irian).
14. Indochina: Laos, North and South Vietnam, Khmer (Cambodia), and Brunei.
15. China including Taiwan, Tibet, Hong Kong and Macao.
16. Northeast Asia: North and South Korea and Japan.

17. North America: Canada and Greenland.
18. United States of America.
19. Middle America: Mexico, Guatemala, Honduras, El Salvador, Nicaragua, Costa Rica, and Panama.
20. The Carribean Region: Cuba, Jamaica, Haiti, Dominican Republic, Puerto Rico, Barbados, Grenada, Trinidad and Tobago, Guyana, and the few "territories" and the many small island groups of the area of which only the Bahamas are fully independent.
21. Brazil.
22. Plata River Region: Argentina, Paraguay, and Uruguay.
23. The Andean South America: Venezuela, Colombia, Ecuador, Peru, Bolivia, and Chile, along with the three Guyanas.
24. South Pacific: Australia, New Zealand, Fiji, Tonga, Gilbert and Ellice Islands, New Caledonia, New Hebrides, Solomon Islands, Nauru, Papua, New Guinea, and the many small islands in the region.

What is outlined above is highly tentative and speculative, given the present stage of our knowledge of the conditions in the various regions. We are aware that any such attempt at concretizing a proposal exposes one to controversy and even ridicule. For it can be said with good reason that some of the inclusions in one region or exclusions from another as proposed here may not work. The only reason why we have made bold to undertake such an exercise (instead of simply depicting broad regions) is to provide a heuristic basis for discussion and criticism. It is not intended as a blueprint in any way. We are aware of the serious problems in moving toward such regional arrangements - political, psychological, historical. Thus, for Albania and Yugoslavia to cooperate within an

otherwise non-Communist region will require important modifications in doctrinal positions; the inclusion of Greece, Turkey, and Cyprus in the same region will call for a mature approach to the future that transcends past animosities; the same with the inclusion of Israel along with Lebanon; the South Asian region will require careful handling, given the intractable problem of Hindu-Muslim amity and the bitter memory of the Bangla-Desh episode in 1971 as well as the strained relationship between Afghanistan and Pakistan over the Pakhtoon issue; even the most logical union of East African states will have to face the changing fortunes of internal regimes within the constituent states. These are examples of the kinds of issues that will need to be candidly faced and resolved.

It may be stated that we do not envisage the restructuring of the entire world into regional units at one stroke, nor do we think that the precise organizational structures need to be the same for the different regions; both of these would be unrealistic expectations. On the other hand, such a development cannot be left merely to the pressure of local factors; there is need to think of such structures in general terms and to spread the idea as desirable for all. The development of several such regional groupings where the prospects for such arrangements are already good (for example South Asia, West Africa, the South Pacific, Southeast Asia, or one of the Latin American regions) may perhaps start off a chain sequence, and in the not-too-distant future bring about a quite differently structured world than is the case today.

UNITY IN DIVERSITY

Finally, we may restate the point already made more than once in the book: such a change in political structure is only a part - and not the most important part - of our

model for the future. It is itself seen as an instrument of the struggle for man's autonomy and dignity, the realization of which involves a number of other strategies outlined in the book. It is a basic tenet of our more complete model (of which the territorial model is only a part) that it should not be too complete, too structured, too institutionalized. To do so would be to violate the very values it is designed to serve. It is only with a view to provide greater freedom and autonomy to men, and hence to states, that we have found it necessary to advance the idea of territorial reconstruction. But it is conceived as no more than a preferred instrument for realising basic values.

Also, such territorial consolidation is not proposed on any assumption of benefits of largeness, though it may appear so. We have no grand design in mind, no overarching institutional utopia. As indicated by the institutional part of the model presented in the book, we want to provide considerable scope for diversity and decentralization within functioning polities (each of which we would prefer to be federal in form as well as spirit), a high degree of economic self-reliance at lower levels (as is involved in our conception of bridging the wide gaps that exist between centres of production and consumption), and indeed a measure of dispersed autarchy and self-sufficiency at various levels or, rather, along ever widening, never ascending circles, to quote again the words used by Gandhi in his famous model of world reconstruction.

It is this combination of on the one hand large federal structures able to fend for their autonomy and leading to a more equal distribution of political power in the world, and on the other hand considerable scope for individual and local self-reliance, that provides the key to our

general model for the future. It is, to use an old phrase, the model of unity in diversity. Diversity, not unity, is our norm. The larger unities that we propose are needed to preserve the integrity and self-confidence of the diverse entities, not to engulf them. Hence our preference for 20 to 25 instead of 5 or 500 constituents of the future world order.

Kothari, R. Footsteps into the Future, pp. 159-162.

ARTICLE V-2

World Institutions

The note that follows this chapter outlines the general rationale and a suggestive outline for such reconstruction. It will be seen that such region-based federations also provide a step towards the ultimate emergence of world federal institutions to which certain functions can be devolved by the constituent political units. We are not interested in moving towards a centralized world system of government, as we are convinced that it will result in a violation of our basic values. We do, however, visualize a further development of institutional structures beyond regional federations with the express objective of promoting justice and a fair distribution of resources, restraining powerful states and adventurist regimes from violating the freedom and rights of human beings, and ensuring the preservation of nature and its life-sustaining qualities against undue encroachment by human agencies. We have already, in Chapter I, indicated the categories under which such institutional development should take place. In this Chapter, which deals with strategies of moving towards the proposed model and not the model as such, we may consider how to build on existing structures and make them serve the ends we have in mind.

1. The present Economic and Social Council (ECOSOC) appears to us to provide a good nucleus for becoming the principal executive organ of the United Nations. Until the world territorial map is restructured into twenty or twenty-five states along the lines suggested by us, the present ECOSOC, which has approximately double that strength (54), may be treated as the authoritative organ for decision-making at the world level. It should continue to be an organ for the General Assembly but should function with

considerable autonomy based on the simple fact that it is in the area of development that a truly global effort needs to be mounted. The ECOSOC should be entrusted with substantial resources for carrying out its functions of social and economic development and reduction of world disparities. Apart from receiving contributions from member states according to their respective GNP's, it should be entrusted with collecting taxes from users of international facilities such as merchant ships and civilian aircraft calling at foreign ports and airports as well as commercial satellites and space vehicles, expatriated profits of foreign business corporations and incomes of multinational corporations and royalties from new sources of wealth that are not under the domain of any state such as ocean beds and outer space. In regard to taking on new functions, the ECOSOC should plan and undertake economic enterprises of a multinational kind in the developing regions, subject to the agreement of the states concerned, counter monopolistic tendencies let loose by the multinational corporations in that way, and take on substantial roles in resource planning, development of new energy sources, migration and ecological policies, and food conservation for assisting scarcity ridden areas anywhere in the world, all of these being functions whose scope extends beyond existing states.

2. The General Assembly may continue to be the world body that represents national governments (as distinct from national legislatures or the people) and to which ECOSOC reports its decisions with the additional provision that any matter decided by a majority in both ECOSOC and the General Assembly should be considered obligatory for all other organs of the United Nations and for all member states.

3. As a step towards greater federalization of world political processes, a World Parliamentary Assembly may be constituted. Its main function should be to act as a forum for discussing various issues facing different regions as well as the world as a whole, articulating legitimate demands of different regional and cross-regional social groups, and generally promoting greater understanding of diverse points of view. Whereas the General Assembly consists of representatives of national governments, the Parliamentary Assembly should consist of representatives from various national legislatures (or their equivalents). While we do not stipulate proportional representation for sending delegates to the WPA, a convention may be gradually promoted that each national delegation should include members belonging to opposition parties (or, in single-party states, other nongovernmental groups).

The Parliamentary Assembly can recommend measures to ECOSOC and the General Assembly for action. In the beginning, we do not envisage any decision-making role for this body, whose main function is to sensitize representative political groups from different regions to the problems and viewpoints of each other. We also do not stipulate that the General Assembly or any other executive organ of the United Nations should be held accountable to the Assembly. We do not think such a jump in institutional restructuring is yet called for. As the world territorial system gets restructured into larger units, as greater equality in power and political status is achieved, and as the present climate of fear and distrust gives place to greater confidence in world bodies, it should be possible to endow the Parliamentary Assembly with more powers. In the absence of these conditions, such a step is likely to prove abortive.

4. ECOSOC should be assisted by a number of agencies that can furnish requisite information, administration

expertise, and specialized action. We propose the establishment of technical commissions for such subjects as interregional planning and economic development, human rights, world population and immigration, science and technology, and human environment and ecology. Each commission should be provided with an adequate staff and resources for undertaking studies, formulating targets, and recommending actions to ECOSOC and its subcommittees. Similarly, a World Food Bank should be set up to serve as a world buffer stock from where food can be rushed to drought ridden areas.

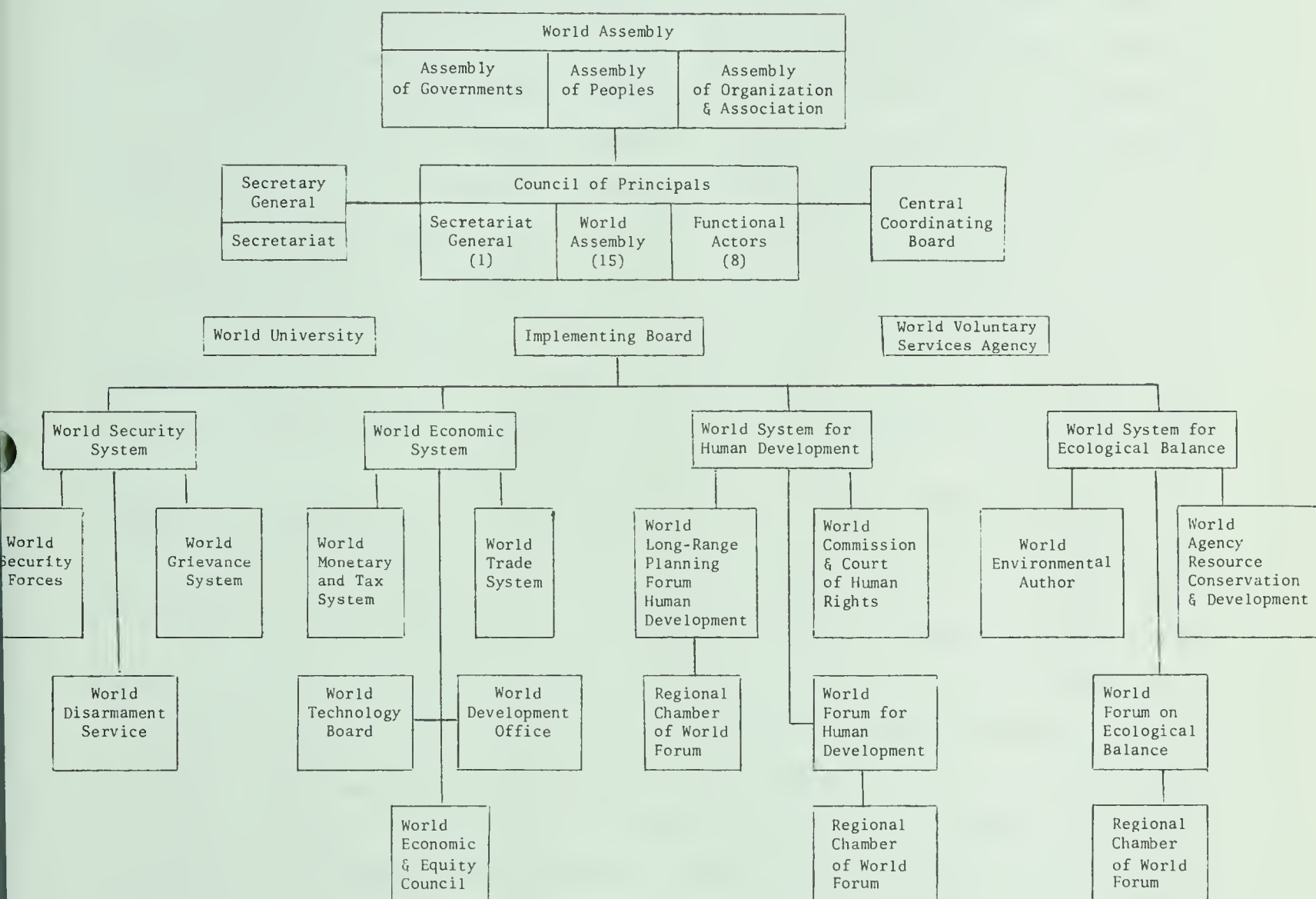
5. The various specialized agencies that are currently rendering considerable services should be continued and strengthened. Examples are ILO, PAO, ICAO, WHO, IMCO, ITU, UNESCO and UNDP. Regionally based commissions should also be strengthened and gradually their efforts coordinated with the efforts of various governments in regional cooperation and federalization. Similarly, the present institutional structure for dispensation of justice may be strengthened by the setting up of a high-powered World Court of Justice, which should have the power to intervene in cases of genocide and gross violation of human rights on the recommendation of a Council of World Jurists and the Commission on Human Rights, which should be both institutionalized as regular parts of the organization of justice at the world level.

6. In the area of minimizing interstate violence and containing the arms race, we suggest two steps. First, there should be at the disposal of the world body an armed force that should be small in size in normal times but expandable when serious violence breaks out by calling upon countries that have a proven record of peace and neutrality to contribute to it. Second, there should be set up a

high-powered Commission on Disarmament to initiate and supervise negotiations between states on various aspects of disarmament. The function of this Commission, which should consist of outstanding scientists and international civil servants, cannot be anything more than that of a catalyst. For we do not believe that much progress in disarmament is possible as long as the big powers continue to "balance" each other and themselves together against the rest of the world. Indeed, the chances are that as long as wide gaps in political and strategic power exist, the arms race will continue; there will also be greater proliferation of nuclear armaments, the non-proliferation of treaty notwithstanding. (India has already shown the way; its breaking of big power monopoly of nuclear technology was welcomed in large parts of the Third World.) On the other hand, once the world territorial order is restructured on the lines suggested in our model, considerable progress towards disarmament will be possible. Until then, one can only hope that the growing convergence of viewpoints between the two world giants will make for some progress towards arms restraint and that the emergence of new power centres and the possibility of further nuclear proliferation will force the two giants to come forward before world bodies with a satisfactory plan for disarmament.

7. The same argument holds for the Security Council, whose present composition defies the principle of equality between states to which the United Nations is committed. We do not believe any reform in its composition is possible - the most "revolutionary" of all states is now part of the system - until the effective distribution of power in the world changes. This will depend on the success of the federalization process envisaged in our territorial model, or of a workable alternative to it.

CHART V-3
CENTRAL GUIDANCE IN THE PREFERENCE MODEL



ARTICLE V-4
The Anatomy of Peace

WORLD FEDERAL GOVERNMENT

After World War II, there was a great deal of discussion as to the best method of attaining world peace. Most observers felt that the United Nations offered the highest hope. However, there were dissenters from this view. Among them, one school felt that the proposed international organization would do no more than ressurect the nation-state system that had been responsible for so much violence. They further felt that the answer to the problem of war lay in an entirely new organization based on the concept of world government; and many of them looked to the American experience, whereby a number of quarreling states were integrated into a federal government. Thus the organization of United World Federalists was formed to encourage public discussions of proposals for a world state.

Emery Reves was an early advocate of the idea of world government. Toward that end, he wrote in 1945 the best-selling book The Anatomy of Peace. Reves has been active in politics and journalism during most of his life. He was born in Hungary; educated in Budapest, Berlin, and Paris; and obtained a doctorate in political economy from the University of Zurich when he was twenty-two years old. In 1930, Reves founded the Cooperation Press Service and Publishing Company. He soon obtained a monopoly in handling world rights for articles by such leading European statesmen as Winston Churchill, Anthony Eden, Leon Blum, and Count Carlo Sforza. These articles were published in some 400 newspapers all over the world. A strong opponent of Nazism, Reve's press service drew the personal ire of Adolf Hitler, who went so far as to attack Reves in a public speech.

Reves managed to escape to the United States during World War II. However, his mother was murdered by the Hungarian Fascists in 1942, an event which strengthened Reve's determination to work for a way to end war. Along these lines, The Anatomy of Peace contained the following dedication:

To the memory of my mother who was atrociously and senselessly assassinated like countless other victims of the war whose martyrdom can have meaning only if we, who survive, learn how to prevent the tragedy of future wars.

It was toward the end of World War II that Reves turned his attention to the question of world federalism. At that time he was signatory to a petition proposing the transformation of the United Nations from a league of sovereign States into "a government deriving its specific powers from the peoples of the world."

The excerpts reprinted below from The Anatomy of Peace present the view that war between nation-states will continue until a higher sovereign body encompassing the world will replace the individual state. In fact, Reves argues that the real cause of all wars can be reduced to one basic formula: wars occur whenever groups of sovereign units come into contact with each other and stop the moment that these units merge into a higher sovereignty. A period of peace follows, lasting until two or more of these newly created units meet each other. Conflict again ensues until a higher sovereignty emerges. According to Reves this process will be repeated until the entire world is under one supreme sovereignty.

EMERY REVES: The Anatomy of Peace

Nation-Feudalism

Conditions prevailing today in human society show striking parallels with conditions after the reign of

Charlemagne and the Carlovingians, the era between the tenth and thirteenth centuries, when the system of political feudalism had been stabilized and was flourishing.

When the centralized rule of the known Western world collapsed with the fall of the Roman Empire, and the Church was not sufficiently strong and well-organized to replace the Pax Romana with an equally efficient centralized secular order, the lives and property of the people were stripped of the necessary protection against uprisings of the poverty-stricken, landless peasants or against sudden attacks by invaders from the neighboring lands.

From this chaotic stage of Western evolution emerged feudalism, created and set into motion as a political system by the desire of the masses for protection and security. The landless freeman and the small landowner went to the most powerful lord of the land in the neighborhood and asked for shelter and support in exchange for which they offered their services.

The subjects submitted themselves and their lands - if they had any - to the baron, and received from him food and shelter in peacetime and equipment in war, for which they tilled the soil, paid taxes and fought battles.

Although later the lords of the land were all vassals of the king - who became the symbol of unity - sovereign power was, for all practical purposes, vested in the individual barons. The administration of the land and of the law, of armed force and of finance were almost entirely in their hands.

Feudalism differed greatly in the various parts of Europe, but certain of its features were identical everywhere. These were:

1. The vassal-lord relationship.
2. Loyalty and mutual obligation, protection and service, binding together all the ranks of each separate

feudal social unit.

3. Contractual relations of lord and tenant, determining all individual and collective rights, forming the foundation of all law.

4. Financial sovereignty of the feudal lord, with the power to tax his subjects and in some cases to coin money.

5. The juridical sovereignty of the feudal lord. His courts were the public courts, and revenue from all fines went to him.

6. The military sovereignty of the feudal lord. All subjects on the lands of the lord owed him military service, were obliged to take up arms whenever he called upon them. The feudal landlord was also the commander of the troops composed of his subjects.

7. Each feudal baron had his symbol, emblem, flag, etc., to which all subjects living on his lands owed obeisance and allegiance.

The relations between commoner and feudal lord as demonstrated by these principles are almost the same as the relations existing today between nation-states and their citizens.

The foundation of feudal relationship was not only land. A great many other services and privileges were integrated in the system. The feudal lord conferred public offices, various sources of revenue, the right to collect tolls, to operate a mill, etc., to some of his subjects, in return for which the subject became a vassal of the lord. He swore an oath of fealty binding him to the obligations of service and allegiance he had assumed. With such a contract he received ceremonial investiture from his lord.

These ceremonies establishing the relations between vassal and lord were almost identical with the process of naturalization in modern nation-states.

During the centuries of political feudalism, the actual government of the kings, the central powers, was most rudimentary and primitive. Little, if any, direct relation existed between individual subjects and the central government of the king. Real power was vested in the feudal baron who was the actual ruler. He alone had control and power over the individuals.

The system, however, soon began to show its inadequacies. Within one large estate the lord of the land could provide his subjects with protection. But identical social units were developing in the same way on all sides, with corresponding power and rights vested in the neighboring barons. Hundreds, thousands of feudal lords obtained sovereign rights over their lands and over their subjects.

The relations between the lords and their subjects were established by custom and regulated by law, but the relationships between the neighboring lords of the land were unregulated except by family ties, friendships, pledges and agreements between them. Naturally, jealousies and rivalries soon flared up among the individual lords, who more and more frequently called upon their subjects to take up arms and fight the subjects of a neighboring lord to protect their own sovereignty, their lands, their influence.

As intercommunications developed and increased, as populations grew and interchange between feudal units was intensified, the conflicts between these units increased in frequency and violence. Each feudal knight looked upon the power and influence of his neighbors with fear, distrust and suspicion. There was no way to obtain security against attack other than to defeat one's neighbor in battle, conquer his lands, incorporate his subjects, thereby raising one's own power and widening one's own sphere of influence.

This evolution culminated in complete chaos with almost

permanent fights between the various sovereign feudal units.

It took a long time for the subjects to realize that the contracts they had entered into with the feudal barons to obtain security and protection had brought them instead permanent wars, insecurity, misery and death. Finally, however, they found that their salvation could be achieved only by destroying the power of the feudal landlords and establishing and supporting a government to stand above the quarreling and warring barons, a government that would possess enough strength to create and enforce laws standing above feudal interests, and that would establish direct relations between the subjects and the central government, eliminating the intermediary feudal sovereignties. So they rallied around the kings, who became strong enough to impose a superior legal order.

Feudalism, a political system which dominated the world for five long centuries, finally began to disintegrate at the end of the thirteenth century, the moment better means of intercommunication and the growth of common ideas made wider centralization possible. Under the impact of these new conditions, the subjects turned against the sovereign feudal governments and established central governments under the sovereignty of the king, ending once and for all the interminable quarrels and fights between the intermediary social units which enslaved the population in the interest and for the maintenance of the sovereign power of the lords of the land.

What does this long and painful history of medieval society have to do with our problem in the twentieth century?

Man in society is constantly seeking security and freedom. This is a fundamental instinct. Both security and freedom are the products of law. Since history began to be written, the human race has struggled for the best forms and methods to achieve a social order within which man can

have both freedom and security.

The historical evolution of human society proves that these human ideals are best achieved if the individual is in direct relationship with a supreme, central, universal source of law. Twice in the history of Western civilization this truth, which seems axiomatic, has found institutional expression: in the monotheistic religions and in democracy.

The fundamental doctrine of the Jewish, Christian and Mohammedan religions is monotheism, the oneness of God - the Supreme Lawgiver - the basic belief that before God, every man is equal. This doctrine, the rock upon which modern Western civilization is built, destroyed the polytheism of primitive human society. It destroyed the many different, selfish and inimical gods who, in the early stages of history, incited mankind to war and to destroy each other for the simple reason that every minor group of men had a different god whom they worshipped and who gave them law. The establishment of a single universal God as the Supreme Being and unique source of authority over mankind, and the attribution of His direct relationship to every man on earth, revealed for the first time the only lawmaking system upon which peaceful human society can be built.

At the time this elementary thesis of society was revealed and proclaimed, technical and material conditions were far too primitive to permit its application and effective realization in the known world. In religion, the doctrine slowly conquered the faith of man and became the dominating creed of the modern world. However, it could not assert itself as a political doctrine of a society that continued to develop along pre-Christian lines.

In the eighteenth century, political conditions at last induced the fathers of modern democracy to open a crusade to destroy the sovereignty of the many kings and rulers who

oppressed and enslaved the people. This crusade led to the formulation and proclamation of the basic principle that sovereignty in human society resides in the community.

This principle, the very foundation of democracy, represents the political corollary of monotheism. Its triumph meant the acceptance by society of the thesis that there can be only one supreme sovereign source of law - the will of the community - and that, under this sovereign law guaranteeing security and freedom to man in society, every man is to be regarded as equal.

It is one of the great tragedies of history that the recognition and proclamation of this principle came a century too early.

When it became the dominating doctrine, the universality of sovereignty, the universality of law, the indivisibility of the sovereignty of the community as the supreme source of democratic law, was not yet feasible or technically possible. The world was still too big, it could not yet be centrally controlled, it was still an exclusively agricultural planet with economic conditions scarcely different from those of antiquity. So a substitute presented itself which permitted the new doctrine of democratic sovereignty to find immediate practical expression.

This substitute was the nation.

An intermediary between the individual and the universal conception of democratic society, the sovereignty of the community, had to be established in order to make the organization of society on a democratic basis immediately realizable. In the eighteenth century, society could not possibly be organized universally. Consequently, democracy could not be organized according to its fundamentally universal principles. It had to be organized nationally.

For a long time the problem seemed to have been satisfactorily solved and citizens and subjects of the

modern democratic nation-states enjoyed a hitherto unknown degree of freedom, security and welfare. Relations between the nation-state and its citizens were stabilized, according to which the state guaranteed protection, security, law and order, in exchange for which the citizens pledged exclusive allegiance to their national state and agreed to accept its laws, to pay taxes and to go to battle when national interests required the supreme sacrifice.

The national organization of democracy worked perfectly well - for a while. But soon, under the impetus of technical, scientific and economic developments, and the tremendous increase of intercommunication, interchange of ideas, populations and production, the various sovereign national units were brought into close contact with each other. Just as in the medieval age, these contacts between the sovereign national units - the relationships of which were unregulated - created frictions and conflicts.

Today we find ourselves in the same social convulsion and political chaos that human society was passing through at the end of the thirteenth century. Far from enjoying freedom, far from obtaining the expected security and protection from their nation-states, the citizens are constantly exposed to oppression, violence and destruction. The multiplicity of the conflicting sovereign units in our society destroys every vestige of the freedom, protection and security originally promised and granted to the individual by the nation-states at their inception in the eighteenth century.

In the middle of the twentieth century, we are living in an era of absolute political feudalism in which the nation-states have assumed exactly the same roles as were assumed by the feudal barons a thousand years ago.

Feudalism created serfdom, not because the supreme

source of law was an individual or a family, but because in a given territory there were many individuals and families exercising sovereign power and because these various sovereign units were not brought under a higher, all-embracing law. The fact that men were living in a society composed of a multiplicity of scattered and disintegrated sovereignties, led feudalism into a series of conflagrations which caused the utter misery and starvation of the peoples and the ultimate self-destruction of the system.

The fact that today we are not ruled by barons and counts but by institutions created by national constitutions, loses its significance when the multiplicity of such scattered sovereign institutions divides mankind into separate sovereign units. This arbitrary and artificial segregation of human society compels nation-states to act in exactly the same way toward their subjects and toward their neighbors that feudal lords of the land acted under similar conditions to uphold their symbols and institutions, their power and influence, which were for them absolute, ultimate ends.

There is nothing kings, emperors or tyrants ever did to their subjects that nation-states are not doing today. Tyranny does not mean the rule of a king, emperor, dictator or despot. It is to live under a system of law in the creation of which the individual does not participate.

In the nation-state system, we are unable to participate in the creation of law in any part of human society beyond our own country. It is, therefore, a self-delusion to say that Americans, Englishmen or Frenchmen are "free people." They can be attacked by other nations and forced into war at any time. They are living in a state of fear and insecurity just as great as under tyrants who interfered with their liberties at will.

Absolute monarchy was anti-democratic and tyrannical, not because it was wicked or malevolent, but because it identified the interests of the king with the interests of the people over whom he ruled and because it acted solely to safeguard its particular interests.

This is exactly the position of the present-day nation-states. Guided exclusively by their own national interests, disregarding completely the interests of their fellow states and having sovereign power in their respective countries, the nation-states have become anti-democratic and have re-established the absolutism our forefathers destroyed when it was personified by kings.

If we take human society as a whole - which in relation to technological reality is smaller today than the society over which the Carlovingian kings ruled - we have to admit that we are living in a society without public law. The legislation of the various nation-states dividing humanity into a number of closed and separated units has all the characteristics of the private law of the medieval dukes, counts and barons, which usurped public law for so many centuries, creating immeasurable bloodshed and misery for all who lived under this multiplicity of distinct systems of law.

This system of nation-feudalism has plunged the world into unprecedented barbarism, and destroyed almost all individual rights and human liberties secured with so much toil and blood by our forefathers. Modern nation-feudalism has erased, except in name, every moral doctrine of Christianity.

There is not the slightest hope that we can change the course into which we are rapidly being driven by the conflicting nation-states so long as we recognize them as the supreme and final expression of the sovereignty of the

people. At ever-increasing speed we shall be hurled toward greater insecurity, greater destruction, greater hatred, greater barbarism, greater misery, until we resolve to destroy the political system of nation-feudalism and establish a social order based on the sovereignty of the community, as conceived by the founders of democracy and as it applies to the realities of today.

This necessitates the realization and acceptance of the following axioms:

1. Individual freedom and individual security in modern society are the product of democratically created and democratically executed law.
2. All individuals must be directly related to the institutions expressing the sovereignty of the community.
3. Any intermediary organizations with attributes of sovereignty standing between individuals and the institutions of the sovereignty of the community (cities, provinces, churches, nations or any other units) destroy the rights of the individual, the sovereignty of the community and, consequently, destroy democracy itself.

What is War?

...Why did cities once wage wars against each other and why do municipalities no longer fight each other with weapons today? Why, at certain times, have great landowner barons warred with each other and why have they now ceased that practice? Why did the various churches plunge their adherents into armed warfare and why today are they able to worship side by side without shooting each other? Why did Scotland and England, Saxony and Prussia, Parma and Tuscany, at a certain period in their history, go to battle against each other and why have they ceased fighting today?

A careful study of human history reveals that the assumption that war is inherent in human nature - and

therefore eternal - is shallow and faulty, that it is only a superficial impression. Far from being inexplicable or inevitable, we can invariably determine the situations that predispose to war, and the conditions which lead to war.

The real cause of all wars has always been the same. They have occurred with the mathematical regularity of a natural law at clearly determined moments as the result of clearly definable conditions.

If we try to detect the mechanism visibly in operation, the single cause ever-present at the outbreak of each and every conflict known to human history, if we attempt to reduce the seemingly innumerable causes of war to a common denominator, two clear and unmistakable observations emerge.

1. Wars between groups of men forming social units always take place when these units - tribes, dynasties, churches, cities, nations - exercise unrestricted sovereign power.

2. Wars between these social units cease the moment sovereign power is transferred from them to a larger or higher unit.

From these observations we can deduce a social law with the characteristics of an axiom that applies to and explains each and every war in the history of all time.

War takes place whenever and wherever non-integrated social units of equal sovereignty come into contact.

War between given social units of equal sovereignty is the permanent symptom of each successive phase of civilization. Wars always ceased when a higher unit established its own sovereignty, absorbing the sovereignties of the conflicting smaller social groups. After such transfers of sovereignty, a period of peace followed, which

lasted only until the new social units came into contact.
Then a new series of wars began.

Brook, D. (editor). Search for Peace: Readings in
International Relations, pp. 357-364.

ARTICLE V-5

The Small Powers - An International Role?

A Meaningful Voice?

from Fate and Will in Foreign Policy

by James Eayrs

Long ago, the mice had a general council to consider what measures they could take to outwit their common enemy, the Cat. Some said this and some said that; but at last a young mouse got up and said he had a proposal to make, which he thought would meet the case. "You will all agree," said he, "that our chief danger consists in the sly and treacherous manner in which the enemy approaches us. Now, if we could receive some signal of her approach, we could easily escape from her. I venture, therefore, to propose that a small bell be procured, and attached by a ribbon round the neck of the Cat. By this means we should always know when she was about, and could easily retire while she was in the neighbourhood."

This proposal met with general applause, until an old mouse got up and said: "That is all very well, but who is to bell the Cat?" The mice looked at one another and nobody spoke. Then the old mouse said:

"IT IS EASY TO PROPOSE IMPOSSIBLE REMEDIES."

AESOP'S FABLES

Force is the monopoly of the Great Powers, for all the good it does them. But Great Powers enjoy no monopoly over ideas. The foreign minister of a small state may not be able to summon a gunboat in aid of his diplomacy, to carry a big stick let alone to brandish it. But he can carry a briefcase well enough, and stock it with proposals.

Even more than Great Powers, small states may exploit this source of power. Great Powers, just because they have more than their fair share of the wealth of this world, are not inclined to innovation except to protect and add to

what is already theirs. They are fearful of change, which for them is for the worse. Opportunities for progress are best ignored, temptations to try new ways are best resisted. The known present, unsatisfactory as it may be, seems preferable to a future filled with uncertainty. They are solaced by the status quo.

For small states it is all very different, or ought to be. They have no vested interest save in changing the system that treats them so shabbily. Change for them is for the better. Opportunities for progress are to be seized, temptations to try new ways to be yielded to. An uncertain future, uncertain as it may be, seems preferable to the present so unsatisfactory to them. They are solaced by the prospect of change.

Having little to lose, and much to gain, the small states of the states-system are the natural innovators within the states-system. The smaller the state, the more acceptable its innovation, for its suggestions more than those of greater powers are likely to be disinterested and directed towards the general welfare. This point was made by Pope Paul VI when he addressed the General Assembly of the United Nations in his capacity as temporal leader of Vatican City, the tiniest state of all. "We have nothing to ask for," he told his fellow delegates. "We have at most a desire to express and a permission to request: namely, that of serving you in so far as lies within Our competence, with disinterest, humility, and love. That," added the Pontiff, with exquisite irony, "is so simple that it may seem insignificant to this Assembly, which is accustomed to dealing with most important and most difficult matters." No message could have been more significant - except perhaps that which Paul proceeded to place before its members. "If you wish to be brothers," he told them, "lay down your weapons."

Left to their own devices, Great Powers will never accept this advice. A Great Power never goes into a disarmament conference intending to lay down its weapons. It goes there intending to increase its armed force vis-a-vis that of its rivals. The gap between their preaching and their practice, between their declared purpose and their real purpose, has grown so wide and persisted for so long that today their governments sometimes don't even bother to conceal their cynicism and their insincerity. "It's gotten to the point," Dean Rusk has conceded, "where, in our conversations, we've been able to refer to the arguments by the numbers. He would make an argument - the (Soviet) Ambassador or Foreign Minister - and I can say: 'Well, you know our position on that. This is Argument Number Five. Shall I repeat it, or shall we save time and go on?' and they'll smile and say: 'Well, we'll perhaps go on to some other subject.'"

It lies within the power of small states to prevent Great Powers going on to some other subject. They can compel them to stick with the subject at hand, whatever it may be - the spread of nuclear weapons, the testing of nuclear weapons, the demilitarization of outer space. They can compel them to negotiate seriously, rather than by rote and ritual. If serious negotiation on Plan A produces no agreement, they can compel them to consider Plans B and C. The methods by which the small powers may hope to coerce the great consist in their persistence and determination, their fertility of device and idea, and their readiness to invoke the sanction of public opinion. The motive for the small powers wanting to compel the great is the motive of self-interest, than which none is more effective. So long as the Great Powers remain deadlocked on disarmament, the interests of small powers are bound to suffer. Stalemate may suit the strong but it is intolerable for the weak.

It perpetuates their misery, it intensifies their danger. "Those terrible weapons that modern science has given you," Pope Paul reminded their custodians, "long before they produce victims and ruins, cause bad dreams, foster bad feelings, create nightmares, distrust, and sombre resolves, they demand enormous expenditures; they obstruct projects of solidarity and useful work. They falsify the very psychology of peoples."

The responsibility borne by small states for the peace and prosperity of the states-system, so far from being small, is really very great. There is much for them to do, much which only they can do. And it is not unrealistic to expect them to be equal to the challenge. They have not done too badly in the recent past, for it is out of the briefcases of the foreign ministers of smaller powers that many of its significant initiatives originate. It was Lester Pearson of Canada who contrived the United Nations Emergency Force; Adam Rapacki of Poland who developed the ideal of disengagement in Central Europe; Frank Aitken of Ireland who first proposed a non-proliferation treaty; Osten Unden of Sweden who first suggested the formation of a non-nuclear club; Per Haekkerup of Denmark who first exposed, like the child in the fable of his countryman, the nudity of NATO doctrine.

All this being so, the foreign ministers of smaller countries have little to excuse them when they tell us, as they often do, that their hands are tied by Fate, that nothing can be done. Either they deceive themselves, or they deceive us, or they disclose by their admission that they do not understand what makes the modern world go round.

ESSAY SAMPLE V-6

(This is only an example of one way to approach the assignment.)

PARTS OF UNIT	CONTENT OF ESSAY	COMMENTS
II	In the past, war has often been viewed as one important aspect of the human condition. War was a test of tribal or national greatness and an opportunity for gain in territory or wealth. It was also a chance for young men to display courage and win glory. But, perhaps most important, war was an accepted and decisive way of settling disputes.	INTRODUCTION Historical causes of war. Concept of a just war.
I	In today's nuclear age, however, war has reached an unfamiliar crossroad. A nuclear war cannot assure a clear winner. Mutual mass destruction would be a likelier outcome. Will nations, therefore, substitute other processes for war? Most scholars doubt it, but some are seriously studying the possibility. Many predict a future of "little wars" using fairly conventional weapons.	Do the lessons of history apply to today's nuclear world?
V	Still, many military analysts expect chances of nuclear war to increase if smaller nations acquire nuclear capabilities. In this event, which is possible in the near future, the big powers could be drawn into a nuclear confrontation through decisions and events (such as a little war) taking place in many parts of the world.	BODY What is the likelihood of World War III?

PARTS OF UNIT	CONTENT OF ESSAY	COMMENTS
III	<p>At the same time, increased possibilities of nuclear war may move nations to take preventive action. The use of poison gas in World War I horrified so many people that laws were passed against its use and poison gas was not used during World War II.</p> <p>The United States and the Soviet Union brushed with nuclear war over Cuba in 1962, and the shock of the experience helped bring about the 1963 treaty limiting nuclear tests.</p>	<p>There is some experience in the past of strong co-operative attempts to limit war.</p>
IV & V	<p>Nations, then, have succeeded in placing certain legal and moral limits on war. Can further international co-operation and agreement build upon this foundation a peace for the nuclear age?</p>	<p>Are we ready for world government?</p>
Synthesis of learnings from all parts		<p>CONCLUSION</p> <p>Personal position.</p> <p>Relationship to universal principles of human survival and dignity.</p>

"Content of Essay" is taken from Fogg, R. (ed.). The Limits of War, AEP Books, p. 5.

ARTICLE V-7

Establishing the Limits of War

Are the historic purposes of war and the rules for its conduct applicable to modern conflicts among men? A study of the past reveals man's efforts to set limits on conflict, yet many questions remain unanswered.

Throughout the centuries, men have observed and written of man's dual capacity for war and peace. In one of the oldest written references to war, the book of Deuteronomy in the Old Testament predicts:

And they shall beat their swords into plowshares,
and their spears into pruning-hooks; nation shall
not lift up sword against nation, neither shall
they learn war anymore.

But until that time, Scripture urged that enemies within Israel be wiped out and their cities destroyed, the main exceptions being that war not be waged on the Sabbath and that the enemy's fruit trees be spared.

In the ancient world, the history of Greece was profoundly influenced by war.

The Greek city-state of Sparta was devoted to military preparation. All of its citizens received military training from childhood. Babies who were weak or sickly were abandoned on Mt. Taygetus.

Athens, whose greatest arts were those of peace - philosophy, government, sculpture, poetry - resorted to war, and with some pride. When the Greek city-states fell to squabbling, an alliance directed by Athens opposed an alliance led by Sparta. This touched off the Peloponnesian War, which began in 431 B.C. and ended in 404 B.C. with the defeat of Athens.

The Roman Empire was built largely through war and conquest. Yet Roman rule achieved long periods of peace.

After Augustus came to power in 27 B.C., he used the power of Rome to keep peace throughout the Mediterranean world. The peace, which lasted more than 250 years, became known as the Pax Romana.

Some of history's earliest and greatest wars were fought under the banner of religious belief. When Christianity became the official religion of the Roman emperor in the fourth century, the armies of Rome fought for Christianity.

In the seventh and eighth centuries, the followers of Mohammed extended the Islamic faith by the sword from India to North Africa and Spain. To Moslems, this was the jihad, or holy war, and the objectives were both religious conversion and military conquest. Those who refused to accept Islam were often killed without mercy.

In eighth-century Europe, Charlemagne, Christian king of the Franks, saw himself as the partner of the pope of Rome. Charlemagne's missionaries advanced with his armies. But his methods were severe. At Verden in 782 he had 4,500 pagan Saxons massacred in a single day.

During the Middle Ages, leading Christian religious scholars regarded violence as a fact of life that could not be eliminated - but could be restrained by moral principles. Over the centuries these scholars agreed upon what they felt were moral reasons for war and justified ways of fighting it.

The Christian Church was the most powerful institution in Europe before the rise of nation-states. Church leaders hoped, therefore, to be able to impose their rules for a "just" war.

Christian scholars taught that all wars were necessarily just on one side and unjust on the other. St. Augustine had taught in the fifth century that a just war required a just motive. He wrote: "Those wars may be defined as just which avenge injuries or repel aggression."

Later the Church condemned wars of revenge, wars of revolt, civil wars, and wars of Christians against Christians. The Church's "Truce of God" forbade harm to priests, pilgrims, and women, and prohibited war on certain holy days. Eventually, fighting wars was prohibited during three-quarters of the year. However, these prohibitions were often unobserved.

In the 13th century, St. Thomas Aquinas wrote: "Those who wage war justly aim at peace." For a war to be sanctioned, St. Thomas named three conditions: authorization by a sovereign, a just cause, and a rightful intention.

The Church looked to such teachings to justify certain wars. The Church proclaimed a war to defend the faith as the most just and glorious of all wars. In 1095, Pope Urban II summoned Christians to undertake a war against the Moslems in these words:

"All Christendom is disgraced by the triumphs and supremacy of the Moslems in the East....The Holy Land, which is dear to all Christian hearts and rightfully a Christian possession, is profaned....Christian kings should therefore turn their weapons against these enemies of God. ...They ought to rescue the Holy Land and the Holy City. They ought to...destroy forever the power of the Moslem attack. The war to which they are called is a Holy War. ...Those who lose their lives in such an enterprise will gain paradise and the remission of their sins."

The Crusades, which followed the Pope's appeal, have been described by some historians as wars of aggression and savagery launched in the name of God. How the medieval Christian Church could worship a merciful God and at the same time rejoice at the sight of a cargo of Saracen noses or thumbs has remained to many historians a mystery of religious faith. But for centuries religion was the main force behind wars.

The era of religious wars came to an end about the year 1648 with the Peace of Westphalia ending the Thirty Years War. That long war, the most devastating the world had known up to then, had its roots in a conflict between Catholics and Protestants. But before it was over, the war was a struggle for control of Europe. The Peace of Westphalia established the doctrine of territorial sovereignty, thus planting the seeds for a new era in warfare - wars between nation-states.

Nationalism - commitment to one's nation - would become the new religion and demand its own crusades. National flags would become the new crosses. During World War I, clergymen on both sides would bless the guns. The Bishop of London would cry, "Kill Germans."

In the United States during the second world war, Christ was portrayed by one historian as "dressed in khaki and sighting down a gun barrel." "Praise the Lord and pass the ammunition" were the words from a popular song.

But for the moment, after the Peace of Westphalia, Europe had seen enough of war. The entire continent was shocked by the horror and destruction. Eight million people - about half the population - are estimated to have perished in Germany. In Bohemia, only 6,000 of 35,000 villages survived. During the sack of Magdeburg, 20,000 people were burned to death.

The wars of the 18th century were limited, but not by international agreement. Wars were mostly power struggles among ruling dynasties, where the object was to wrest concessions from the enemy, not destroy him.

The world, however, moved steadily toward total, or unlimited, war. After the French Revolution of 1789, France sought to impose its ideas of "Liberty, Equality, and Fraternity" on all of Europe. European powers united against France, and on August 23, 1793, announced jointly the era of total, or unlimited war:

The young shall fight; the married men shall forge weapons and transport supplies; the women will make tents and clothes and serve in the hospitals; the children will make up old linen into lint; the old men will have themselves carried into public squares and rouse the courage of the fighting men... The public buildings shall be turned into barracks, the public squares into munitions factories.

Wars became as total as men and technology could make them. But unlimited war made possible unimagined levels of death and destruction, as well as the defeat of entire nations, rather than of just professional armies.

Twice as many died in World I as in all the major wars from 1790 to 1913. The total casualties on both sides of that war, including civilians, were estimated at 20 million dead and an equal number wounded.

The slaughter and horrors of trench warfare created widespread revulsion. Where poets once glorified war, now "war poets" wrote of its evil and inhumanity, as in these lines by an anonymous bard:

"War a dirty, loathsome,
servile murder-job...
Men maimed and blind; men
against machines;
Flesh versus iron, concrete,
flame and wire;
Men choking out their souls
in poison gas;
Men squelched into the slime
by tramping feet...
Men disemboweled by guns
five miles away...."

World War I was fought as a "war to end wars," in the words of President Woodrow Wilson. After the defeat of Germany, world opinion demanded a treaty that would make it impossible for Germany to make war again.

The Treaty of Versailles in 1919 was severe. It not only placed sole blame on Germany for starting the war, but

also demanded that the Germans pay huge sums in war reparations and penalties.

The Treaty of Versailles recognized the need for international agreements on keeping the peace. The League of Nations was founded in 1919 for this purpose. One article of its covenant threatened economic sanctions against any nation that resorted to war.

But the League was weakened by the failure of the United States to join it. And later the League would fail to oppose effectively Japan's invasion of Manchuria in 1931, Italy's invasion of Ethiopia in 1936, as well as other aggressions that led to World War II.

In 1928, the United States and 14 other nations signed the Kellogg-Briand Pact condemning war. The signatories agreed to renounce war as an instrument of national policy in their relations with one another. The pact was ratified by 63 other nations.

At the same time, however, it was recognized that wars could still occur and that modern warfare required limits. Some of the customs and laws of war were unwritten, although generally recognized. Others were to be written in treaties and conventions. The most important conventions were held at The Hague in the Netherlands in 1899 and 1907, and at Geneva, Switzerland, in 1929 and 1949.

The Hague Conventions dealt specifically with such questions as the declaration of war and the commencement of fighting, conduct of war on land and sea, and the duties and rights of neutral nations. The Hague Convention in 1907 formed the core of the law of war of the 20th century.

The following examples may indicate the range and significance of the provisions of The Hague Conventions:

- Prisoners of war must be humanely treated. Their food, lodging, and clothing must be "on the same footing" as those of the captor's troops.

- The use of poison or poisoned weapons is prohibited.
- It is forbidden to kill or wound an enemy who has surrendered.
- The attack or bombardment, by whatever means, of undefended towns, villages, or buildings is prohibited.
- When occupying an enemy's territory, civilian honor, rights, lives, property, and religious convictions and practices must be respected.
- "Volunteer corps" (or guerilla fighters) have the same rights and duties as have armies.

Because of these Conventions, almost every modern soldier knows that he should not fire on a white flag or ambulance, or loot or harm civilians and prisoners, and that, if captured, he need only give captors his "name, rank, and serial number." And most soldiers know that violation of such rules is a war crime.

After World War II, a new issue regarding war crimes arose. The victorious Allies declared that a war of aggression "is not only an international crime; it is a supreme international crime."

However, aggression has been difficult to define. The relevant Articles of the U.N. Charter (Art. 2, Sec. 4 and Art. 51) require member nations to refrain from the threat or use of force, except in individual or collective self-defense. But the Articles leave unclear both what constitutes a war of aggression and what justifies a war of self-defense.

Such concepts are intimately connected with the distinction between a just war and an unjust war - and men and nations have disagreed on this for centuries.

Medieval ideas are still cited as criteria for defining a just war. However, these early principles have been adapted to apply to the conduct of modern war. Modern criteria for a just war include: whether peaceful methods have been exhausted; whether there is discrimination between

killing civilians and killing soldiers; the extent to which victory is possible; whether force is being used in self-defense; whether force is being used upon invitation to help a nation under attack; and whether force is used to protect vital interests.

The many questions arising about the legality and morality of modern war are still unresolved. Many moralists and scholars agree that the fight of Western democracies against military dictatorships in World War II was as close to a just war as may be possible.

But the dropping of the atomic bombs on Hiroshima and Nagasaki by the United States and the saturation bombing of German cities were horrible by any standards. In addition, the bombings violated moral principles of war by killing many civilians.

The Allied trial of top German military leaders at Nuremberg after World War II raised additional legal and moral questions - and wrote a whole new chapter in the development and application of an international law of war.

Fogg, R. and Pollock, G. (editors). The Limits of War: National Policy and World Conscience, pp. 7-11.

PART VI

Application

Overview

Part VI deals with the last stage of inquiry, social action. What do we do about the decision on the issue? If the inquiry to this point has been meaningful to the students, they will probably want to act in some way to express their beliefs. Activity 14 will provide some examples of responsible social action and some ideas of projects/tasks that students might want to pursue. It is very important to note that social action must not be mandated; it can only be encouraged.

Student Materials

Class sets are required of the materials listed below:

Activity 14:

- Article VI-1: Arms Race in the Classroom (page 337)
- Article VI-2: Hiroshima Group Commemorates Loss of 100,000 (page 343)
- Article VI-3: Family and Personal Survival (page 344)
- Worksheet VI-4: Describing Social Action (page 348)
- Worksheet VI-5: Evaluating Social Action (page 349)
- Checklist VI-6: Evaluating the Unit (page 351)

ACTIVITY 14: ACTING ON THE DECISION

A. Intention

This final activity is intended to draw a conclusion to the unit, but not necessarily to inquiry on the issue. Students should be encouraged to analyze critically throughout their lives efforts at co-operation among nations and attempts by nations to use conflict as a means of achieving peace.

B. Objectives

1. Value

Accept personal responsibility to support ways of enhancing human survival and human dignity in national and international affairs.

2. Skills

- (a) Participate in developing and carrying out action related to the issue consistent with a personal decision on the issue.
- (b) Assess the effectiveness of the action by completing an evaluation sheet.
- (c) Assess the value of learnings and the process used in this unit.

C. Materials

- 1. Moore, J. and R., War and War Prevention, Hayden Book Co. Inc., Rochelle Park, N.J., 1974. pages 130-132
- 2. Article VI-1: Arms Race in the Playroom (page 337)
- 3. Article VI-2: Hiroshima Group Commemorates Loss of 100,000 (page 343)
- 4. Article VI-3: Family and Personal Survival (page 344)
- 5. Worksheet VI-4: Describing Social Action (page 348)
- 6. Worksheet VI-5: Evaluating Social Action (page 349)
- 7. Checklist VI-6: Evaluating the Unit (page 351)

D. Learning Activities

1. Before deciding on a particular action, have students look at some examples of responsible social action.
 - (a) Study Article VI-1, "Arms Race in the Playroom" and answer the following:
 - (i) Identify the problem as given in the article.
 - (ii) List and briefly describe examples of action by individuals and groups to solve the problem.
 - (iii) (Optional) Make an inventory of toys and games on the market or in your home to determine if the problem described remains at present. (NOTE: Add this to the list of possible actions.)
 - (b) Have the students read Article VI-2, "Hiroshima Group Commemorates Loss of 100,000", and answer these questions:
 - (i) What group organized the rally? What was the purpose of the rally?
 - (ii) According to Rev. John Guy what is the major problem facing mankind? Do you agree with his assessment?
 - (iii) Identify several values you think this group would consider important. Do you consider these values important?
 - (iv) What kind of issue is the group dealing with: local, national or international?
 - (v) Do you think this kind of social action is meaningful? Does it have any chance of success? (Be sure to define your criteria of "success".) Have you ever participated in an action similar to this? Describe.
 - (c) Present Article VI-3, "Family and Personal Survival", and have students identify the types of actions that are suggested. Possible answers might include:

- (i) Study and publicize the effects of nuclear radiation.
- (ii) Study and publicize ways to protect against nuclear fallout.
- (iii) Investigate the building of fallout shelters.
- (iv) Survey the community to find out where and what types of fallout shelters are available.

2. Developing the Action

- (a) Have students form small groups and brainstorm a list of possible actions related to the issue. They should generate as long a list as they can in five minutes.
- (b) After brainstorming, have the students select the best two or three actions and present these to the whole class. The purpose here is simply to add to the range of possible actions.
- (c) Assign reading of pages 130-132, War and War Prevention, and determine if any of these activities should be added to the list of possible actions.

3. Selecting the Action

- (a) Have each student select the preferred action with several reasons defending the choice.
- (b) Then, assign completion of Worksheet VI-4, "Describing Social Action", by each student. Individual students, or groups of students who prefer to work together on an action, should briefly discuss the action with the teacher and obtain the teacher's signature before proceeding.

4. Evaluating the Action

- (a) Upon completion of the action, have students complete Worksheet VI-5, "Evaluating Social Action".
- (b) Discuss the completed sheet with the student or group of students. Of particular interest are the questions raised as a result of the various actions.
- (c) Conduct a general discussion with the whole class to allow students and groups to exchange their experiences with the action stage.

5. Evaluating the Unit

- (a) Have students complete Checklist VI-6, "Evaluating the Unit".
- (b) Develop a list of questions about the issue from the student evaluations. In this manner, show students how these questions lead to further enquiry. The process of enquiry is a never-ending cycle where questions lead to solutions which lead to further questions.

ARTICLE VI-1

Arms Race in the Playroom

Janet Rapoport

In 1965, the following article appeared in Sanity.

The tin soldier is dead.

In the suburbs, tiny guerillas with leafy helmets and lethal, futuristic weapons are routing enemies from the shrubbery.

In the family room, brinkmanship is old stuff. Sophisticated tots are playing "Risk." The rules are like "Monopoly" but the real estate is bigger and better. Players vie with one another to occupy every country on earth by advancing and withdrawing their nuclear equipped armies.

"Tactics II" is even more fun. Manufacturers proudly call it a "full scale war game." Atomic and hydrogen bombs are unleashed to eliminate all opposition.

In "Strategy," assassination plays an important role. "Diplomacy" - called a "family game" - only requires "secret plotting" and "rumor spreading" to defeat the enemy.

If kiddies don't go for games, there are plenty of other goodies (for releasing aggression) in the toy departments.

The "GI Joe" is a kind of Barbie Doll for boys. He's 12 inches tall and has 21 moveable parts so he can throw hand grenades or curl up in foxholes. He comes with Army, Navy, Marine and Air Corps uniforms, grenades, rifles, automatic guns and foxhole(?).

The guerilla set blends with the underbrush and has a fully automatic 50-shot machine gun. "Johnny-Seven" is an elaborate thing billed as a "one-man army." It's a grenade launcher, anti-bunker rocket, anti-tank rocket, repeating rifle, automatic pistol and tommy-gun.

There are exploding hand grenades, exploding booby traps and land mines - even an exploding mined road. ("The road really blows up," says the caption. "Complete with UN Jeep and soldiers!")"

Last year, Washington, D.C., businessman O. Roy Chalk started a movement to raise \$2.5 million in private funds to get obsolete training planes, surplus World War II army tanks, amphibious "ducks" and other war equipment in children's playgrounds across the country.

Washington's John F. Kennedy Playground was the first of these to open. (The idea was described as "creative play" to provide challenges children need).

KETCHUP IN THE GUILLOTINE

Those active in the fast-growing "ban the toy" movement will tell you they're not against cowboys and Indians. What they object to is the trend in the last few years towards a kind of one-upmanship in hideousness.

At a press conference of toy manufacturers in Montreal two years ago a reporter picked up a toy guillotine which realistically decapitated its victim with the flick of a lever.

"Why not have ketchup squirt out when the head falls off?" she asked innocently.

"We thought of that," a salesman blurted enthusiastically, and there's a more recent model in the U.S. with simulated blood." He wasn't joking.

Another item on display was a mechanical bear that writhed in anguish and fell dead when shot by a toy rifle.

Champions of the horror toys say they teach youngsters strategy and are "constructive" ways of unleashing aggression. Better that they should be exploding a land mine in the back yard rather than pulverizing baby brother in the bushes.

The "experts" are still disagreeing over whether the toy arsenals are right or wrong for children.

Among those who think they're wrong are Dr. Benjamin Spock of "Baby and Child Care" fame and renowned psychiatrist Dr. Jerome Frank of John Hopkins University.

Dr. Judd Marmor, clinical professor of psychiatry at the University of California (Los Angeles) says that while these weapons serve as an outlet for aggressive feelings, "they also prepare the soil for psychological acceptance of violence. One could justify them only if no other kind of toy game were available to serve as an outlet for aggressive impulses."

Professor of Child Psychiatry at the Albert Einstein College of Medicine, Dr. Michael B. Rothenberg feels that toy manufacturers are "exploiting the world's agony in the most cold-blooded fashion. If children must release aggressive emotions, they should do it against bowling pins or dart boards - not against human effigies or the symbols of civilization."

Children want war toys, the manufacturers insist. Children in European countries invaded during the Second World War don't want them because in most of these countries they aren't manufactured.

North American children want them because manufacturers create a demand for them through advertising. Turn on the television any Saturday morning while the youngsters are glued to their favourite programs and watch the advertisements. You'll behold ingenious weaponry for small-fry that would make the Man from U.N.C.L.E. drool with envy.

Frank Caplan, president of Creative Playthings Inc., Princeton, N.J., is one toymaker who refuses to be a party to the current perversion of children through horror toys.

He calls toy manufacturers who say these weapons are good for children "psychiatric numbskulls." (Caplan was a former pre-school educator.)

"Kids have a great deal of pent up energy that can be expressed in a number of ways that aren't hostile," he says. "They're looking for ways of personal expression. Why take the easiest way out by giving them guns? Our country feels that this is the easiest way out of any conflict situation."

Caplan, who has a \$4.5 million enterprise, has refused to join the Toy Manufacturers' Association of the U.S.A. in protest against horror toys.

CONSUMERS VS. THE TOY

Toy shelves are getting so nasty that the pressure groups have well organized campaigns against them.

A few months ago a California sculptor and 50 friends built the "world's largest sand castle" to protest against war toys. Richard Register, 22, who founded the organization "No War Toys", told the press the castle represented the sort of creative play children should be encouraged to pursue.

Register started NWT with funds from the sale of two of his works. He bought buttons, bumper stickers, opened an office (2472 Washington Blvd., Los Angeles 18, Calif.) and started a newspaper called Toy.

"We've received an excellent reaction," he said. "Our group includes liberals, conservatives and middle-of-the-roadsers."

NWT plans to put moral pressure on consumers this year and to picket toy stores during the Christmas shopping season.

Another of their projects is a giant bonfire of war toys - scheduled for Nov. 15 - in an extinct New Mexico volcano.

The Canadian Consumers Association and Canadian Parent-Teacher Association this year passed resolutions at their annual meeting protesting against the proliferation of toy arsenals.

Women Strike for Peace in the U.S. and Voice of Women

in Canada have been working for the last few years to arouse the public on "The Toy." WSP in Los Angeles, with the help of a local Congressman, managed to halt the spread of war equipment on playgrounds patterned after the John F. Kennedy Playground. Mothers across Canada have been ripping war toy sections from chain store catalogues and newspaper advertisements and sending them to the stores' head offices with protests.

Both organizations have blitzed toy manufacturers, department stores and toy store owners with letters of protest. Working on the principle that stores don't stock toys people don't buy, they circulated lists of creative and educational toy manufacturers.

In some Canadian cities, VOW members have persuaded chain department stores not to advertise war toys. Typical of action across Canada is work carried on by energetic VOW member Kitty Francis in Montreal.

She visited all toy stores in the city's west end, found two whose owners refused outright to sell toys of violence (several others said they didn't like them, but demand was big) and organized other members to buy there.

She circulated anti-war toy petitions, and sent letters to stores, TV stations and newspapers. (One reply, from sales promotion manager of the Robert Simpson Co., said: "I can assure you that if the various governments within the United Nations ever make it illegal to sell war toys to children, Simpsons Montreal will be among the first to remove them from their counters.")

A few brave manufacturers aren't waiting for the United Nations. Some are starting to cash in on anti-horror.

Makers of Lionel trains in the U.S. have for their slogan this year, "Nice Toys Do Not Kill."

Another humane American toymaker has developed a game

called "Swords and Ploughshares." The object is to achieve peace and understanding on earth and to eliminate militarists.

Rapoport, Janet. "Arms Race in the Playroom" in Cuthbert, R. Issues for the Seventies: War, pp. 60-63.

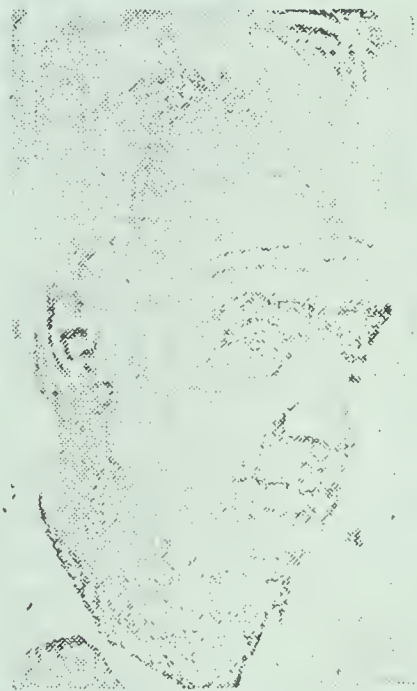
ARTICLE VI-2

Hiroshima group commemorates loss of 100,000

By Lois Ross
(Herald staff writer)

As a jet roared overhead Sunday, a small group of people in Prince's Island Park stood in silence commemorating the loss of 100,000 lives in the bombing of Hiroshima 33 years ago.

The rally was held by The Calgary United Nations Association to revive the memory of the dropping of the first atomic bomb and to press for nuclear disarmament.



REV. JOHN GUY
... U of C chaplain

"We have no right, no matter what our quarrel, to jeopardize the future," said Rev. John Guy, head of the Calgary association and a chaplain at the University of Calgary.

During a short speech Guy emphasized the immediate and long term effects of radiation on the

human race. Today it is common knowledge that we are able to destroy the world many times over, he added.

The bomb dropped on Hiroshima, August 6th, 1945 "started something that has continued for 33 years," Guy said.

And although for many people the reality of the incident is beyond comprehension, "for some it is very much a living memory."

The Ban the Bomb movement and similar groups in the early 60's were the impetus behind the partial ban on nuclear testing.

Testing continues

However, underground testing of bombs continues, he added. Now the call is for permanent nuclear disarmament. "The second push is about to begin. Arms limitation has become a power game played-out by a handful of politicians and diplomats — people who have lost touch."

He added that a prime objective in the fight for nuclear disarmament is to organize an open world conference where citizens groups will be able to participate in discussion and decisions.

Unemployment, inflation and other issues are secondary, he added.

"This is the major problem that faces mankind."

The Calgary group, reformed after dissolving four years ago, is undertaking letter-writing campaigns to politicians and organizing study groups to oppose the "insanity of nuclear war," said Guy.

He concedes that individual efforts seem like "a drop in the ocean." But, "if enough citizens speak-out they will begin to listen."

"I find growing numbers of young people are somehow able to see the reality of it," he added.

Lois Ross, The Calgary Herald,
August 8, 1978.

ARTICLE VI-3

Family and Personal Survival (Part I)

THE EFFECTS OF NUCLEAR RADIATION

Radiation has become a factor in life of which we must be aware and with which we must learn to live. It is important that we understand the effects of radiation because our everyday life is becoming more and more associated with nuclear energy. When considering possible sources of excessive radiation, we must include a number of possibilities other than nuclear war and fallout — such as an accident in a nuclear power plant, or a transportation accident involving a vehicle carrying radioactive material. Accidents such as these could take place in your community — so it is necessary that you be informed on the nature and effects of radiation.

I. WHAT IS RADIATION LIKE?

- A. Human senses do not detect it. You cannot smell or taste it and you cannot feel radiation.
- B. It travels only in straight lines from the source.
- C. Radiation is less intense as it travels further from its source. It also decays (decreases in intensity) as time passes.
- D. Radiation penetrates all objects to some extent.

II. RADIATION'S EFFECT ON HUMAN BEINGS

- A. Effect on humans depends on:
 - 1. What kind of body cells receive exposure
 - 2. Intensity of the exposure
 - 3. Length (in time) of the exposure
 Personal reaction to radiation doses until the level reaches the "positively fatal" bracket will depend in good measure on the individual's age, build, and current physical condition. Generally, his reaction will be similar to his ability to recover from injury, disease, poison, etc
- B. Low exposure has no noticeable effect. The background radiation level — which is radiation from the sun and stars, together with radiation from natural radioactive materials in the earth — varies from place to place.
- C. Moderate exposure still does not produce a noticeable effect.

- D. Heavy exposure (as might be encountered in a nuclear accident, or with extensive fallout of radioactive particles) could produce *radiation sickness* due to the destruction of body cells and blood cells.

1. Symptoms of radiation sickness are:

- a. Nausea
- b. Diarrhea
- c. Fever
- d. Weakness

- 2. The organism would recover from radiation sickness as the body was allowed rest and time to repair and replace cells damaged or destroyed by radiation. The human body has the ability to slough off some of the damaged cells and to recover from some of the effects. Radiation sickness is not contagious or infectious

- E. Massive exposure (as might be encountered with *prolonged* exposure to a serious nuclear accident or heavy fallout) could produce radiation sickness and — as the body would be unable to recover fast enough from cell damage — eventual death.
- F. Always remember that people who have been exposed to radiation do not become radioactive! This is true even when people are exposed to the most massive doses. Rescuers need not worry about handling them.

Protection of your body from excessive radiation is as basic as protection of your eyes from excessive light, or your skin from excessive sunburn.

RADIATION'S EFFECT ON ANIMALS

The radiation level with which we normally live has no noticeable effect on animals.

"Higher" levels of radiation can kill individual cells. As radiation passes through the live cell, it affects the chemistry of the cell and causes it to stop functioning normally.

In the case of simple one-celled or few-celled organisms (such as bacteria), exposure to radiation means a quick death.

In the case of larger animals, exposure to radiation means some damage to the body cells. This can result in the following degrees of effect, depending on the strength and length (time) of the radiation exposure.

1. **No symptoms** — where cell destruction from radiation is so small that the animal manufactures new cells to repair the damage and replace the loss.
2. **Sickness** — caused by greater cell destruction to the animal, but from which it still can recover as time is allowed for recovery and reconstruction of body and/or blood cells.
3. **Death** — caused by cell destruction so extensive that the animal cannot rebuild cells fast enough to recover.

RADIATION'S EFFECT ON NON-LIVING MATTER

Radiation that passes through non-living matter has no effect on the material.

It contaminates *only* if the radioactive *material* itself is deposited on or in the non-living matter. Radioactive materials can usually be washed off or brushed off to eliminate contamination.

For example, radiation *rays* passing through food, iced, or water would not make them radioactive and would not make them dangerous to eat or drink. It is only when radioactive *particles* get into food supplies that food might become unsuitable for use.

- C. Actually, to change the nature of non-living matter, or to make it radioactive, would require radiation levels of such extreme intensities as are encountered only in the nuclear fission processes of nuclear reactors or in weapons testing.

VI. PROTECTION FROM EXCESSIVE RADIATION

- A. Protection from excessive radiation involves numerous considerations — but try to remember your three best defenses:

1. **Distance** from the radiating material. Distance is a natural protection because the radiation exposure is less the further away a person is from the source.
2. **Shielding** to provide temporary protection from radiation. Shielding simply means to get a mass of material between you and the radiation source. This is your most important protection, and it may be found in private or public shelters or in a protected corner of your basement. If you don't know whether there is fallout or not, don't take chances — go to a protection area.
3. **Time** to allow for the decay process to make the radiating material harmless. Nothing can destroy radioactivity except time and its own decay.

- B. Nuclear energy and radiation are here to stay. They will always be with us. Like electricity, radiation can be very dangerous and harmful if it is not properly controlled. However, also like electricity, we can learn to protect ourselves from radiation and live with it safely so that its effects, such as in cobalt treatments to halt cancer, will be beneficial to us.

Prepared by V. L. Stine, L. P. Bollwahn, and S. R. Cushman, Agricultural Engineering Department, M.S.U.

The above is from material prepared by the University of Michigan.
Consult your local EMO.CO-ORDINATOR for further information.

ARTICLE VI-3

Family and Personal Survival (Part II)

SHELTER — YOUR SAFEST PLACE

A new hazard threatens us today. In the event of a nuclear emergency, large portions of our country could be covered with radioactive fallout. It has been established that a great number of persons who might not survive could live if protected from radiation for a few crucial days. What is less generally realized is that some protection from fallout radiation may often be already close at hand. This leaflet will help you determine where your best protection might be found and what you can do to improve it.

UNDERSTANDING THE DANGER

When a nuclear device explodes at ground level, it forms a huge fireball, pulverizing everything within a three to five-mile radius. All this pulverized dirt and debris is swept up into a rising mushroom-shaped cloud where it becomes radioactive. When the cloud cools, the radioactive dust and debris come back to the earth as fallout. High winds may carry fallout far from an explosion area.

What does fallout look like? It may resemble ash or fine sand. Or it may be no more visible than dust. The danger is there, nevertheless, in rays of intense radiation. These rays can't be seen or felt, but they can penetrate body tissue and destroy living cells.

PROTECTING AGAINST FALLOUT

Only a strongly reinforced underground shelter could withstand the blast, heat and initial radiation in the immediate area of a nuclear explosion. But radiation from fallout—the greatest danger for the greatest number of people—can be stopped by shielding.

1. **Shielding.** Anything thick enough and heavy enough will block radiation rays. The same amount of protection could be obtained from about 2 inches of lead, 5 inches of steel, 16 inches of concrete, 24 inches of earth, 48 inches of wheat, or 60 inches of wood. All would reduce the radiation hazard about 100 times—a safe level in most circumstances. Shielding need not be expensive. In fact, earth is one of the best materials, and any underground facility—generally a basement, root cellar, tunnel or

mine has good protection possibilities if the top and openings can be shielded as well as the sides.

2. **Distance Helps, Too.** Radiation is greatest where there is a concentration of fallout, as there would be on the ground, roof or window sills. Staying away from the ground level of any structure or top floors directly under a roof would give you extra protection. Also getting to the innermost part of a building, away from outer walls and windows could increase your chance to survive.
3. **Time Is On Your Side.** Radiation decays with time. If you can shield your family from fallout radiation in the days right after an explosion when radiation is the strongest, you could survive.

FIND YOUR SAFEST PLACE

1. **In Your Home.** Just staying indoors, away from doors and windows will cut your radiation hazard in half. But that remaining half could be deadly. You increase your protection to about 90% by staying below ground level in your basement, away from windows. Even this may not be enough. Better protection could be had with extra shielding overhead.
2. **In An Apartment.** The basement of an apartment building, especially a sub-basement, offers excellent protection. If the basement walls are not completely underground, the basement's central area or a protected corner away from the windows would be the safest place. In large

multi-story buildings with heavy walls, the central areas of upper floors, excluding the ground and top levels, could also give good protection.

On The Farm. Storm and root cellars, in addition to basements, have excellent shelter potential. Barns, like houses, cut radiation in half — better than no protection at all, but often not enough to save a life. Hay, preferably baled, stored in the lofts above, would improve the protection somewhat, as would any heavy structure attached to the barn—a cement block shed, for example. Corrugated structures offer little protection.

In The Country. Tunnels, mine shafts, and underground installations of any kind offer very good radiation protection. So do the interior portions of cattle underpasses or drainage culverts under multi-lane highways, especially with the openings blocked.

Community Shelters. Many basements of schools, churches, and other buildings give substantial fallout protection. Community shelters already surveyed and approved by the Federal Government are clearly labeled **Fallout Shelter** on a yellow and black sign. Look for those nearest you.

YOUR PROTECTION GOOD ENOUGH?

Now that you've determined your safest place, can you use it as a protected area? Your family would probably need the following:

1. Adequate space: A minimum of 10 square feet per person plus room for storing the food, water and other essentials your family might require.
2. Protection: Thick shielding at the top as well as sides. Doorways should be equally protected by some baffle arrangement.
3. Ventilation: A supply of fresh air. Some underground shelters may need vents to the outside and a blower.
4. Lighting: Electricity may or may not be available. Provision should be made for artificial light.
5. Radio reception: Radiation interference could make an outside antenna necessary for a battery radio.

IMPROVING WHAT YOU HAVE

By increasing the mass of materials at the top and sides of your protection area and by blocking or deflecting radiation rays away from openings — as well as providing for air, light, and radio reception, you may be able to convert your safest place into excellent shelter.

1. To improve overhead shielding in a basement, cement blocks may be placed between the rafters or in any manner that will put more mass overhead. Your structure may need bracing to support the added weight. As a last-minute protective measure, you could cover the floor above with a mass of whatever is available: cement blocks, baled hay or a foot of books would all do.
2. Block basement windows on the inside with a similar mass of material, or cover them on the outside with sand bags, cement blocks, several rows of bricks, or at least a foot of dirt.
3. Underground root or storage cellars away from a building could be mounded over with three feet of dirt for even more protection.
4. Where an opening is outside or facing a window, make sure the radiation is deflected by providing a baffle wall directly in front of the door. A baffle of sand bags, cement blocks, etc., both absorbs and deflects radiation rays from the entrance.

YOU MAY WANT TO BUILD A SHELTER

Evaluate your own situation now, before a nuclear emergency arises. Is there an area nearby and easily accessible where you and your family would be safe from radiation? Is it possible to increase your protection? If not, would it be better for you to build a fallout shelter? A well-designed shelter would give you a more certain level of protection. Also, a shelter could be the extra room you need in your home — perhaps a workshop, recreation room or office. If you're building a new home, such a dual-purpose room could be included inexpensively.

Prepared by V. L. Stine, L. P. Bollwahn, and T. Canja, Agricultural Engineering Department, M.S.U.

The above is from material prepared by the University of Michigan.
Consult your local EMO.CO-ORDINATOR for further information.

WORKSHEET VI-4
Describing Social Action

ISSUE: Should we encourage the development of a world government?

NAME(S): _____

DATE: _____

State Proposed Action:

List the Steps You Plan to Follow:

1. _____
2. _____
3. _____

Consequences

<p>Anticipated (before the action):</p> 	<p>Actual (after the action):</p>
---	---

Evaluation Summary (based on "Evaluation Sheet"):

Teacher's Signature

DATE: _____

Marks: 5 -

WORKSHEET VI-5
Evaluating Social Action

NAME(S): _____ DATE: _____

Action Taken:

1. The major strength of this action was:

Student Opinion

Teacher Opinion

2. The major weakness of this action was:

Student Opinion

Teacher Opinion

3. I would rate the overall effectiveness of this action as:

Reasons:
(Student)

_____ High _____

_____ Moderate _____

_____ Low _____

Reasons:
(Teacher)

4. If I were to act on this issue again I would:

_____ take the same action

_____ take another action (identify): _____

5. Results of Action (if any): _____

6. If we were to continue studying this topic I would ask these questions: _____

Marks: 5.

CHECKLIST VI-6
Evaluating the Unit

TITLE OF UNIT: Should we encourage the development of world government?

Name: _____ (optional)

Date: _____

I. If I had to describe this unit, I would use the words:
(Check no more than two from this list)

- ☐ easy
- ☐ confusing
- ☐ makes me think
- ☐ fun
- ☐ not very important
- ☐ boring
- ☐ my favourite subject
- ☐ important to me
- ☐ related to problems today
- ☐ interesting
- ☐ other (What is it? _____)

II. During the last six weeks in this unit I spent most of my time: (Check three answers)

- ☐ listening to what was being said
- ☐ bored
- ☐ interested
- ☐ asking questions
- ☐ answering the teacher's questions
- ☐ confused
- ☐ learning a lot of things I never knew before
- ☐ wishing we would go more slowly
- ☐ wishing we would go faster
- ☐ wanting more information
- ☐ taking part
- ☐ other (What is it? _____)

III. During the last six weeks in this unit my class spent a lot of time: (Check three answers)

- ☐ reading
- ☐ writing answers to questions
- ☐ having whole class discussions
- ☐ listening to the teacher
- ☐ answering the teacher's questions
- ☐ working in small groups
- ☐ taking notes
- ☐ doing roleplay, debates
- ☐ doing projects
- ☐ other (What is it? _____)

IV. I learned the most in this unit when I: (Check three answers)

- ☐ read the books
- ☐ listened to the ideas of other students in my class
- ☐ talked about my ideas with a small group
- ☐ listened to the teacher
- ☐ gave my own opinions
- ☐ asked questions
- ☐ did the written exercises
- ☐ answered questions
- ☐ discussed with the whole class
- ☐ did small group projects
- ☐ other (What is it? _____)

V. What I liked best about this unit was:

VI. What I liked least about this unit was:

VII. During this unit I found it hard to: (Check as many as you wish)

- ☐ understand what I read in some of the books
- ☐ take part in class discussions
- ☐ work well in small groups
- ☐ explain to the teacher what I was confused about
- ☐ ask questions
- ☐ take part in roleplay, debates
- ☐ express my own opinion
- ☐ remember what I had read in the books
- ☐ learn the names of people and places studied
- ☐ read diagrams and charts
- ☐ use outside source materials
- ☐ other (What is it? _____)

VIII. To do well in this unit I had to: (Check as many as you wish)

- ☐ memorize all the facts in the books
- ☐ read well
- ☐ ask questions
- ☐ take part in discussions
- ☐ remember everything the teacher said
- ☐ agree with the teacher
- ☐ have my own opinion
- ☐ write well
- ☐ do extra projects
- ☐ try to be as quiet as possible
- ☐ bring in extra information

- ☐ answer a lot of the teacher's questions
- ☐ use evidence to support my position
- ☐ listen to and remember what others thought
- ☐ other (What is it? _____)

IX. In this unit, my classmates and I asked: (Check one answer)

- ☐ many questions
- ☐ a few questions
- ☐ hardly any questions

X. In this unit we worked in small groups: (Check one answer)

- ☐ often
- ☐ sometimes
- ☐ never

XI. In this unit I preferred to work: (Check one answer)

- ☐ by myself
- ☐ in a small group
- ☐ with one big group (with the whole class)

XII. This unit was: (Check as many as you like)

- ☐ related to my life
- ☐ more related to my parents' lives
- ☐ important to my understanding of our society

XIII. The most important thing I have learned in this unit is:

XIV. If I could change anything about this unit, I would do the following:

Appendix

A. Suggestions for additional work on the concept of co-operation:

1. "Agreements on the conduct of WAR". In addition to the section on International LAW, pages 141-144:

- (a) The following article from the Red Cross Hand Book, The Geneva Conventions, outlines a brief but interesting historical look at attempts to set rules on the conduct of war.
- (b) The book by Henri Dunant, A Memory of Solferino, can be used as a supplement for the purpose of showing the horrors of war (Part I) and the above purpose (1a) but also as an example of the importance of acting on one's convictions (Part VI).

The Geneva Conventions

Even in war and in regard to the enemy, men must observe certain humanitarian rules. These rules are laid down in the four Geneva Conventions of August 12, 1949:

- I. For the Amelioration of the Condition of the Wounded and Sick in Armed Forces in the Field.
- II. For the Amelioration of the Condition of Wounded, Sick and Shipwrecked Members of Armed Forces at Sea.
- III. Relative to the Treatment of Prisoners of War.
- IV. Relative to the Protection of Civilian Persons in Time of War.

In reality the principles defined in these Conventions are derived from what was an already long-established humanitarian tradition when the Red Cross was founded in 1863.

Centuries ago the rules of chivalry observed by Moslem and Christian countries alike tended to have a softening effect on the customs of peoples. Under the influence of the religious leaders, and later the founders of international law, a doctrine emerged which tended to make war humane. In harmony with this evolution of ideas, several covenants concluded between belligerents in the XVIIIth Century contained clauses for the care of the wounded and sick, the protection of ambulances, the exchange of prisoners and even, in some cases, the demarcation of neutral zones and the respect of their inhabitants.

But the scale of modern warfare and the increasingly deadly nature of the new weapons in use have compromised the effectiveness of this evolution in international law. It was the desire to adapt humanitarian principles to the new conditions of war which inspired Henry Dunant at

Solferino to call upon the assistance of private citizens, since the Army Medical Services showed themselves powerless to help all victims. The idea expounded by the great Genevese in his famous book "A Memory of Solferino" led to the foundation of the Red Cross movement, and subsequently the Geneva Conventions. If we compare the Conventions with the cartels of the XVIIIth Century, we observe that the latter were merely temporary agreements, valid for a certain conflict and for a given period, whereas the Geneva Conventions have been concluded for all time and apply to all countries. Thus they mark a huge step forward in the law of nations.

There are three essential principles at the basis of the Geneva Conventions: humanity, solidarity and universality. On the basis of these principles, and therefore in accordance with the spirit of these Conventions, humanitarian activities can be developed as required by events.

Those who are privileged to belong to the Red Cross movement and are responsible for giving young people a knowledge of the Geneva Conventions should point out the infinite possibilities contained in the principles governing these Conventions.

Since ancient times the pollution of springs has been forbidden. Throughout the ages this prohibition has been respected. The St. Petersburg Convention of 1868 forbade the use of dum dum bullets; the Geneva Protocol of 1925 prohibited the use of asphyxiating gases; these prohibitions were observed in turn during the two World Wars. It is therefore possible for man to place limits on his own power and to respect them. For this, however, the active and vigilant support of public opinion is essential in all countries.

Red Cross workers, true to the spirit of the Geneva Conventions and acting in all circumstances in accordance

with their principles, can show the world that the Red Cross is a force for peace; the Red Cross is the symbol of peace, even in the midst of war. Though born on the battle-field and holding itself in readiness to assist war victims at all times, the Red Cross does not prepare men for war, it prepares them to act in time of war, as in time of peace, in accordance with its basic principles. It trains them, in fact, to remain human in all circumstances.

According to one of the clauses common to all four Conventions, Governments have agreed to give as wide publicity as possible to the Conventions among their peoples both in peace as in war-time. This official obligation, however, is interdependent upon the moral obligation incumbent upon each and every one of us.

We have made a point in this Handbook of stressing the rules of the Geneva Conventions which correspond to general principles. To act in accordance with these rules, even in circumstances not specified in the texts, is to conform to the spirit of the Geneva Conventions and thus to further humanitarian action. The study and thorough knowledge of these essential provisions is incumbent on each of us. It is for us to study and familiarize ourselves with the other clauses when our personal responsibilities make this a duty.

Red Cross Handbook, Geneva Conventions.

B. Additional material for Part II: Case Studies:

These cases can be added between Activities 7 and 8.

The study of "Korea and Vietnam" conflicts will have a somewhat different focus. These conflicts occurred within the nuclear age - post 1945 - and directly involved a nuclear super-power, yet they are examples of large but "limited wars" as opposed to the two World Wars which were "total wars". Thus the students should deal with these questions in each case study:

- (a) What was the underlying cause of the conflicts?
- (b) What factors led to the limitation of each conflict?

At the conclusion of the study of both conflicts, the students should be able to reach the intent of the following generalization.

e.g. (a) The Korean and Vietnam wars were essentially ideological conflicts.

(b) The Korean and Vietnam conflicts were limited wars.

1. Case III: 1950-1953, Korea

Study Chapter III of Stoessinger's book, Why Nations Go To War, and complete the following:

- (a) State the three reasons given for the North Korean attack on South Korea. What do you think of the statement that Stalin "ordered" the attack? (page 69) Do you think the author is simply guessing or does he have good evidence for his "reasons"? Would a Soviet historian likely agree with Stoessinger?

- (b) Analyze Truman's decision to send troops to Korea from the points of view of how he saw his leadership role and his interpretation that the "lesson of history" (page 76) required forceful action.
- (c) Support the claim that the "UN Police force" was in fact a "US Police force". (page 85)
- (d) Do you think the decision to cross the 38th parallel by UN troops was justified? Why?
- (e) Support Stoessinger's claim that "...MacArthur had blundered into the trap of his own misperception". (page 95) Did the American public share this "misperception"?
- (f) Prove or disprove the hypothesis: The underlying reason for the Korean War was the competition between two ideologies, Communism versus Capitalism ("The free world").

2. Case IV: Vietnam

Stoessinger claims that the "tragedy of Vietnam" was caused by the "misperceptions" of five American presidents. Study Chapter 4 of his book, Why Nations Go to War, and prove or disprove that hypothesis.

- (a) The following retrieval chart may be useful for students:

President	Misperceptions	Policy Decisions
Truman		
Eisenhower		
Kennedy		
Johnson		
Nixon		

SAMPLE TEACHER'S RETRIEVAL CHART: VIETNAM

President	Misperceptions	Policy Decision
Truman	That all struggles were ideological: U.S. vs U.S.S.R. The fear of worldwide communism directed from Moscow.	Containment policy (p. 107). Re-definition of the Indo-China war into ideological conflict (p. 108-109). Payment to France of 1/3 cost of war.
Eisenhower	That Vietnam was another Korea with China ready to invade as in Korea.	Payment to France increased to 1/2 cost of war. Creation of SEATO. Support for Diem's "Republic of South Vietnam". Sent 1000 advisors to Vietnam.
Kennedy	That Vietnam was a military rather than a political problem. The illusion of restraining (see p. 121). That American technological power could win the war.	17,000 advisors sent to Vietnam. "Limited" use of Napalm and defoliant (p. 122).
Johnson	That communism needs to be stopped "at the source" (p. 130). That sufficient force could win the war. Low regard for the ability of the Vietcong soldier.	Dramatic escalation in troops to 500,000 men and heavy bombings.
Nixon	That viable South Vietnam could remain with limited American support. That America could "lose" yet "win" - peace with honour (p. 132).	Vietnamization. Severe bombings to cover withdrawals (p. 132). Invasion of Cambodia. Mining North Vietnam harbours and risking conflict with the U.S.S.R.

- (b) Explain the statement that "Progress was regress: 1954 by 1973". (page 135) Does Stoessinger believe that the Vietnam War was justified?
- (c) Do you agree with Stoessinger's hypothesis that the Vietnam war was caused by the "misperceptions" of five American presidents? Were these misperceptions based on ideological differences?
- (d) Suggest some reasons why the conflict in Vietnam remained a limited war. Contrast the views of the military versus political leaders on the question of expanding the conflict. Was the war concluded on the basis of a military or political settlement?

3. Conclusion to Case III and IV: Korea and Vietnam

- (a) Review the causes of both conflicts and establish some common elements between both cases. e.g.
 - (i) Both conflicts were isolated parts of a larger global contest.
 - (ii) Both conflicts involved a super-power.
 - (iii) Both conflicts resulted in political rather than military solutions.

Draw these similarities into a generalization. e.g.

The Korean and Vietnam wars were essentially ideological conflicts.

- (b) Review the description of both wars as "limited" rather than "total wars". e.g.

(i) Both conflicts remained localized.

(ii) Both conflicts involved fewer troops and casualties than either of the total wars.

Draw the generalization that: e.g. Both conflicts were limited wars.

(c) Summary: The notion of an ideological war in the nuclear age is sobering because of the direct involvements of the super-powers. This of course, has the explosive potential of nuclear total war. Yet the examples of wars directly involving a super-power and remaining limited offer some hope. Why didn't the Americans use their full power and "defeat" the communists in Korea and Vietnam? Was it because the politicians, sensitive to public pressures, resisted the military advice to escalate the conflicts? The relationship of the military and political goals in the conduct of modern war will be examined further when we look for solutions to war.

C. This material, "Report From Iron Mountain", can be used as follows:

1. During Part II: Perhaps added to Activity 8, to examine further the cause of war. This article presents a very different view of why nations go to war.
2. During Part III, Activity 10, to present a point of view that not only is peace unattainable but undesirable!

3. To provide students or teachers with information which is pro-war for debate or as part of assignments such as the term paper on the "should" question in Part V.

REPORT FROM IRON MOUNTAIN

"I will leave most of the story of the operations of the Special Study Group, as the commission was formally called, for Doe to tell in his own words....At this point it is necessary to say only that it met (initially at Iron Mountain, New York) and worked regularly for over two and a half years, after which it produced a Report. It was this document, and what to do about it, that Doe wanted to talk to me about...

"The Report, he said, had been suppressed - both by the Special Study Group itself and by the government interagency committee to which it had been submitted. After months of agonizing, Doe had decided that he would no longer be party to keeping it secret....

"...the unwillingness of Doe's associates to publicize their findings (is) readily understandable....they concluded (that) lasting peace, while not theoretically impossible, is probably unattainable; even if it could be achieved it would almost certainly not be in the best interests of a stable society to achieve it..."

- From the Foreword
by Leonard C. Lewin

The word peace, as we have used it in the following pages, describes a permanent, or quasi-permanent, condition entirely free from the national exercise, or contemplation, of any form of the organized social violence, or threat of violence, generally known as war. It implies total and general disarmament. It is not used to describe the more familiar condition of "cold war," "armed peace," or other mere respite, long or short, from armed conflict. Nor is it used simply as a synonym for the political settlement of international differences. The magnitude of modern means of mass destruction and the speed of modern communications require the unqualified working definition given above;

only a generation ago such an absolute description would have seemed utopian rather than pragmatic. Today, any modification of this definition would render it almost worthless for our purpose. By the same standard, we have used the word war to apply interchangeably to conventional ("hot") war, to the general condition of war preparation or war readiness, and to the general "war system."

Wars are not "caused" by international conflicts of interest. Proper logical sequence would make it more often accurate to say that war-making societies require - and thus bring about - such conflicts. The capacity of a nation to make war expresses the greatest social power it can exercise; war-making, active or contemplated, is a matter of life and death on the greatest scale subject to social control. It should therefore hardly be surprising that the military institutions in each society claim its highest priorities.

THE FUNCTIONS OF WAR

The visible, military function of war requires no elucidation; it is not only obvious but also irrelevant to a transition to the condition of peace, in which it will by definition be superfluous. It is also subsidiary in social significance to the implied, nonmilitary functions of war; those critical to transition can be summarized in five principal groupings.

1. Economic. War has provided both ancient and modern societies with a dependable system for stabilizing and controlling national economies. No alternate method of control has yet been tested in a complex modern economy that has shown itself remotely comparable in scope or effectiveness.

2. Political. The permanent possibility of war is the foundation for stable government; it supplies the basis for general acceptance of political authority. It has enabled

societies to maintain necessary class distinctions, and it has ensured the subordination of the citizen to the state, by virtue of the residual war powers inherent in the concept of nationhood. No modern political ruling group has successfully controlled its constituency after failing to sustain the continuing credibility of an external threat of war.

3. Sociological. War, through the medium of military institutions, has uniquely served societies, throughout the course of known history, as an indispensable controller of dangerous social dissidence and destructive antisocial tendencies. As the most formidable of threats to life itself, and as the only one susceptible to mitigation by social organization alone, it has played another equally fundamental role: the war system has provided the machinery through which the motivational forces governing human behavior have been translated into binding social allegiance. It has thus ensured the degree of social cohesion necessary to the viability of nations. No other institution, or groups of institutions, in modern societies, has successfully served these functions.

4. Ecological. War has been the principal evolutionary device for maintaining a satisfactory ecological balance between gross human population and supplies available for its survival. It is unique to the human species.

5. Cultural and Scientific. War-orientation has determined the basic standards of value in the creative arts, and has provided the fundamental motivational source of scientific and technological progress. The concepts that the arts express values independent of their own forms and that the successful pursuit of knowledge has intrinsic social value have long been accepted in modern societies; the development of the arts and sciences during this period has been corollary to the parallel development of weaponry.

SUBSTITUTES FOR THE FUNCTIONS OF WAR: CRITERIA

The foregoing functions of war are essential to the survival of the social systems we know today. With two possible exceptions they are also essential to any kind of stable social organization that might survive in a warless world. Discussion of the ways and means of transition to such a world are meaningless unless a) substitute institutions can be devised to fill these functions, or b) it can reasonably be hypothesized that the loss or partial loss of any one function need not destroy the viability of future societies.

Such substitute institutions and hypotheses must meet varying criteria. In general, they must be technically feasible, politically acceptable, and potentially credible to the members of the societies that adopt them. Specifically, they must be characterized as follows:

1. Economic. An acceptable economic surrogate for the war system will require the expenditure of resources for completely nonproductive purposes at a level comparable to that of the military expenditures otherwise demanded by the size and complexity of each society. Such a substitute system of apparent "waste" must be of a nature that will permit it to remain independent of the normal supply-demand economy; it must be subject to arbitrary political control.

2. Political. A viable political substitute for war must posit a generalized external menace to each society of a nature and degree sufficient to require the organization and acceptance of political authority.

3. Sociological. First, in the permanent absence of war, new institutions must be developed that will effectively control the socially destructive segments of societies. Second, for purposes of adapting the physical and psychological dynamics of human behavior to the needs of social organization, a credible substitute for war must

generate an omnipresent and readily understood fear of personal destruction. This fear must be of a nature and degree sufficient to ensure adherence to societal values to the full extent that they are acknowledged to transcend the value of individual human life.

4. Ecological. A substitute for war in its function as the uniquely human system of population control must ensure the survival, if not necessarily the improvement, of the species, in terms of its relation to environmental supply.

5. Cultural and Scientific. A surrogate for the function of war as the determinant of cultural values must establish a basis of sociomoral conflict of equally compelling force and scope. A substitute motivational basis for the quest for scientific knowledge must be similarly informed by a comparable sense of internal necessity.

SUBSTITUTES FOR THE FUNCTIONS OF WAR: MODELS

The following substitute institutions, among others, have been proposed for consideration as replacements for the nonmilitary functions of war. That they may not have been originally set forth for that purpose does not preclude or invalidate their possible application here.

1. Economic. a) A comprehensive social-welfare program, directed toward maximum improvement of general conditions of human life. b) A giant open-end space research program, aimed at unreachable targets. c) A permanent, ritualized, ultra-elaborate disarmament inspection system, and variants of such a system.

2. Political. a) An omnipresent, virtually omnipotent international police force. b) An established and recognized extraterrestrial menace. c) Massive global environmental pollution. d) Fictitious alternate enemies.

3. Sociological: Control function. a) Programs generally derived from the Peace Corps model. b) A modern,

sophisticated form of slavery. Motivational function. a) Intensified environmental pollution. b) New religions or other mythologies. c) Socially oriented blood games. d) Combination forms.

4. Ecological. A comprehensive program of applied eugenics.

5. Cultural. No replacement institution offered. Scientific. The secondary requirements of the space research, social welfare, and/or eugenics programs.

SUBSTITUTES FOR THE FUNCTIONS OF WAR: EVALUATION

Economic. The social-welfare model cannot be expected to remain outside the normal economy after the conclusion of its predominantly capital-investment phase; its value in this function can therefore be only temporary. The space-research substitute appears to meet both major criteria, and should be examined in greater detail, especially in respect to its probable effects on other war functions. "Elaborate inspection" schemes, although superficially attractive, are inconsistent with the basic premise of transition to peace. The "unarmed forces" variant, logistically similar, is subject to the same functional criticism as the general social-welfare model.

Political. Like the inspection-scheme surrogates, proposals for plenipotentiary international police are inherently incompatible with the ending of the war system. The "unarmed forces" variant, amended to include unlimited powers of economic sanction, might conceivably be expanded to constitute a credible external menace. Development of an acceptable threat from "outer space," presumably in conjunction with a space-research surrogate for economic control, appears unpromising in terms of credibility. The environmental-pollution model does not seem sufficiently responsive to immediate social control, except through

arbitrary acceleration of current pollution trends; this in turn raises questions of political acceptability. New, less regressive, approaches to the creation of fictitious global "enemies" invite further investigation.

Sociological: Control function. Although the various substitutes proposed for this function that are modeled roughly on the Peace Corps appear grossly inadequate in potential scope, they should not be ruled out without further study. Slavery, in a technologically modern and conceptually euphemized form, may prove a more efficient and flexible institution in this area. Motivational function. Although none of the proposed substitutes for war as the guarantor of social allegiance can be dismissed out of hand, each presents serious and special difficulties. Intensified environmental threats may raise ecological dangers; mythmaking dissociated from war may no longer be politically feasible; purposeful blood games and rituals can far more readily be devised than implemented. An institution combining this function with the preceding one, based on, but not necessarily imitative of, the precedent of organized ethnic repression, warrants careful consideration.

Ecological. The only apparent problem in the application of an adequate eugenic substitute for war is that of timing; it cannot be effectuated until the transition to peace has been completed, which involves a serious temporary risk of ecological failure.

Cultural. No plausible substitute for this function of war has yet been proposed. It may be, however, that a basic cultural value-determinant is not necessary to the survival of a stable society. Scientific. The same might be said for the function of war as the prime mover of the search for knowledge. However, adoption of either a giant space-research program, a comprehensive social-welfare program, or a master program of eugenic control would

provide motivation for limited technologies.

GENERAL CONCLUSIONS

It is apparent, from the foregoing, that no program or combination of programs yet proposed for a transition to peace has remotely approached meeting the comprehensive functional requirements of a world without war.

Special Study Group. Report from Iron Mountain on the Possibility and Desirability of Peace, pp. 9-10 and 80-87.

D. Arab/Israeli Conflict; Peace Treaty Between Israel and Egypt

This case study dramatically illustrates the need for the teacher to continually update material in this unit. At the second draft of this unit, the Camp David peace talks between Carter (U.S.A.), Sadat (Egypt) and Begin (Israel) appeared to have collapsed. At the end of the third draft, the talks had resumed. By May, 1979 (final draft) a peace treaty had been signed! However, only the future will tell if this peace treaty will lead to the larger peace between the Arabs and Israel. This larger peace is in serious danger. Will the future bring peace or war in the Middle East?

The article from Facts on File presents the key elements of the peace treaty between Egypt and Israel. The following questions can be used with the article:

1. Which countries were involved in the peace treaty?
2. List the key elements of the treaty.
3. Refer to your "Information Sheet" and recall the reasons the Arabs and Israelis went to war. Does this peace treaty eliminate the need for any further war?
4. Refer to question 3e (page 84) and update the role of the U.S.A. in this conflict.
5. Describe the reaction of the rest of the Arab world to the peace treaty. Use selected statements to show why the Arab states are opposed to the peace treaty.
6. Why is the PLO so opposed to the peace treaty?

7. Under what conditions would Carter "deal directly" with the PLO?
8. What is the present state of peace/war in the Middle East?

WORLD AFFAIRS

Israel, Egypt Sign Peace Treaty Formally Ending State of War; Begin, Sadat, at Washington Ceremony, Hail Carter's Efforts

3 LEADERS VOW END TO STRIFE. Egypt and Israel formally ended the state of war that had existed between them for nearly 31 years as President Anwar Sadat and Premier Menahem Begin signed a formal peace treaty in Washington March 26. President Carter signed as a witness for the U.S. It was the first such peace pact between Israel and an Arab country. (See p. 197A1; p. 223A1 for the text of accord.)

Also signed later March 26 by Foreign Minister Moshe Dayan and Secretary of State Cyrus Vance were two separate memorandums of agreement between the U.S. and Israel. One dealt with assurances of U.S. military and political assistance to Israel in case Egypt violated its pact with Jerusalem. The other concerned the guarantee of a continued supply of oil to Israel. The text of both documents was released March 28. (See below.)

A gathering of 1,600 invited guests attended the 45-minute ceremony on the White House lawn. After the signing of three versions of the treaty - in Arabic, Hebrew and English - the three leaders delivered addresses hailing the accord and expressing hope for a lasting peace.

President Carter called the agreements a celebration of "a victory, not of a bloody military campaign, but of an inspiring peace campaign." He praised Begin and Sadat for having "conducted this campaign with all the courage, tenacity, brilliance and inspiration of any generals" leading men into combat.

The President said that although "we have won, at least, the first step of peace," there was "a long and difficult road" ahead. This was a reference to future negotiations on the Palestinian issue.

In his address, President Sadat described the Egyptian-Israeli pact as "a new chapter...in the history of the co-existence among nations." He lauded the people of both nations for having "given generously of their thought and efforts to translate the cherished dream into a reality."

Sadat's deepest praise was reserved for President Carter's mediation efforts. The President, he said, "performed the greatest miracle," adding, "without exaggeration, what he did constituted one of the greatest achievements of our time."

The Egyptian leader concluded: "Let there be no more war or bloodshed between Arabs and Israelis. Let there be no more suffering or denial of rights. Let there be no more despair or loss of faith..."

Citing biblical prophets, Premier Begin declared in his speech that "the ancient Jewish people gave the new world a vision of eternal peace, of universal disarmament, of abolishing the teaching and learning of war." He called the treaty-signing "a great day in the annals of two ancient nations, Egypt and Israel, whose sons met in battle five times, fighting and falling....It is thanks to our fallen heroes, that we could have reached this day."

Like Sadat, Begin gave large credit for the success of their negotiations to President Carter, who had worked "so consistently to achieve this goal....A soldier in the service of peace you are."

The signing of the treaty, Begin said, was the third greatest day of his life. The other two, he recalled, were the declaration of Israel's independence in May 1948 and when Jerusalem "became one city" under Israeli rule in June 1967.

KEY ELEMENTS OF THE TREATY - The actual treaty package comprised a preamble and nine articles, and three annexes

and one appendix dealing with Israeli withdrawal from the Sinai Peninsula and the establishment of United Nations buffer zones in the region.

Among the major points of the accord:

- Israel would withdraw its military forces and civilian settlements from the Sinai in phases over a three-year period. Two-thirds of the Sinai was to be relinquished to Egypt within nine months of the exchange of instruments of ratification. (The Israeli evacuation started March 27, with supplies being pulled out of a 45-mile strip on the Mediterranean coast, between the present U.N. buffer zone and El Arish.)
- U.N. forces would be deployed in some Israeli-Egyptian border areas to monitor the agreement. The U.S. would assist in bolstering the security arrangements by conducting surveillance flights over the area.
- After the first nine-month period of Israeli withdrawal from the Sinai, Israel and Egypt would establish normal and friendly relations and exchange ambassadors 10 months after ratification.
- Israel would have free right of passage of its ships and cargoes through the Suez Canal.
- Egypt would end its economic boycott of Israel.
- Israel would be permitted to purchase oil from the Sinai under normal commercial terms after the fields were returned to Egypt.
- Israel and Egypt would start negotiations on Palestinian self-rule in the West Bank and the Gaza Strip within a month after the exchange of ratification documents.

Israel's return of the Sinai oilfields was the final issue in the negotiations of the treaty that had been resolved in discussions between Premier Begin and U.S. Secretary of State Cyrus Vance in New York March 24 and between Begin and President Sadat in Washington March 25.

Under a compromise plan worked out by Begin and Sadat, the oilfields would be turned over to Egypt seven months after ratification of the treaty. Originally, Israel had asked for a nine-month delay and Egypt wanted the fields returned in six months.

U.S.-ISRAELI AGREEMENTS - Under the separate U.S.-Israeli memorandum of agreement signed March 26, Washington pledged that in the event of Egyptian violation of the treaty with Israel, it would "take such remedial measures as it deemed appropriate, which may include diplomatic, economic and military measures." These steps, the memorandum said, could include "strengthening of the United States presence in the area, providing the emergency supplies to Israel and the exercise of maritime rights in order to put an end" to such breaches of the pact as a naval blockade of Israel or denial of its use of these international waterways: the Suez Canal, the Strait of Tiran and the Gulf of Aqaba.

The U.S. held that the agreement was similar to the one it had signed with Israel in 1975 at the time of the second Sinai disengagement accord between Israel and Egypt. (See 1975, p. 641A1.)

Egypt denounced the separate U.S.-Israeli agreements in a statement by President Anwar Sadat March 28 and in two protest letters written by Premier Mustafa Khalil to Vance and released that day.

In his first letter, Khalil said he had been shown the text of the U.S.-Israeli memorandum only one day before its signing and that he expressed objections. He said it was "contrary to the spirit existing between our two countries and does not contribute to the strengthening of relations between them."

Khalil also complained that the memorandum "assumes

that Egypt is liable to violate its obligations," thus casting doubts on the impartiality of the U.S., which was not supposed "to support the allegations of one side against the other."

The Khalil also took issue with the United States' right "to impose a military presence in the region for reasons agreed between Israel and the U.S., a matter which we cannot accept."

In the second letter to Vance, Khalil said Egypt "will not recognize the legality of the memorandum and considers it null and void."

Sadat said the memorandum violated the Israeli-Egyptian accord and that it "could be construed as an eventual alliance" against Egypt.

In a reply to Khalil released March 28, the U.S. State Department assured Cairo that the Israeli memo, and a similar one offered Egypt but refused, "is to facilitate the maintenance of peace in the area." The memo "does not assume that Egypt is likely to violate the treaty," the department said. "On the contrary, we have full confidence that Egypt and Israel are determined to honor their obligations."

In rejecting the U.S. offer of a similar agreement, Sadat said, "We are not in need for anyone to protect us and we don't want anyone to fight our battles for us. And we don't feel insecure to ask for such measures for us."

ARAB PROTESTS - Just prior to and after the signing of the Israeli-Egyptian peace treaty, Arabs and others expressed their strong opposition in acts of terrorism, demonstrations, strikes and denunciatory statements. Among the major statements and incidents:

- A bomb blast in Jerusalem's main square March 23 killed one and wounded 14. The Palestine Liberation Organization took credit.

- The windows of the U.S. Embassy in Damascus were shattered by two bomb blasts March 25. The building was closed at the time and no serious damage or injuries were reported.
- Saleh Khalef, second in command of Al Fatah, March 25 proposed that the PLO, Syria, Algeria, Libya and Iraq join the Soviet Union in countering what he called the triangular alliance between the U.S., Egypt and Israel. Speaking in Tyre, Lebanon, Khalef said, "we shall fight the Americans, British and West Germans everywhere," assailing London and Bonn for their support of the Israeli-Egyptian pact.
- PLO leader Yasir Arafat, speaking at a news conference in Beirut March 26, a few hours before the signing of the accord, said he would "finish off American interests in the Middle East," and pledged to "chop off the hands" of President Carter, President Anwar Sadat and Premier Menahem Begin, the three leaders who had signed the pact in Washington.
- Palestinians at 15 camps in Lebanon protested the treaty signing March 26 by staging a work stoppage. They were joined by Lebanese Moslems. Similar protests were held that day in the West Bank and Gaza Strip, and a hand grenade exploded in East Jerusalem, wounding five tourists.
- Demonstrators stormed the Egyptian embassies in Teheran and Kuwait March 25, while the Damascus offices of Egyptair, Egypt's airline, were occupied by protesters.
- Following a three-day visit to Damascus, Soviet Foreign Minister Andrei A. Gromyko March 26 joined Syrian President Hafez al-Assad in denouncing the Israeli-Egyptian agreement. Their joint statement charged that the pact would not promote stability in the region and was aimed at perpetuating Israel's occupation of Arab lands and East Jerusalem. Gromyko, who also had conferred with Arafat, reached an agreement with Assad and the PLO on dealing with the New Middle East situation resulting from the treaty,

the Syrian press agency said.

- A bomb exploded in an open air market in Lod, Israel March 27, killing one and injuring 21.
- A bomb was thrown into a Paris hostel for Jewish youths March 27, injuring 32. Credit for the blast was claimed by an organization calling itself the Autonomous Joint Intervention Group Against the Zionist Presence in France and Against the Treaty. The PLO office in Paris condemned the attack as the work of French anti-Semites.

CARTER ON U.S.-PALESTINIAN TIES - President Carter said March 23 that the U.S. wanted "direct relations" with the Palestinians living in Israeli-occupied lands but acknowledged the difficulties of dealing with the Palestine Liberation Organization. West Bank Palestinians as well as the PLO were opposed to the Israel-Egypt peace treaty. (See p. 69E1; 1978, p. 339E2.)

The President made the remarks in separate interviews taped and broadcast by Egyptian and Israeli television. His appearance was designed to encourage West Bank and Gaza Strip Arabs to participate in the next phase of the negotiations of the treaty, which would deal with the status of their territories.

As for U.S. recognition of the PLO, Carter reaffirmed that his Administration would "start working directly" with the organization if it accepted Israel's right to exist and dropped its opposition to United Nations Security Council Resolution 242, the basis for peace efforts in the Middle East.

Questioned by an Israeli interviewer on whether self-rule for the Palestinians would lead to an independent state, Carter was noncommittal. He said that under terms of the Israeli-Egypt treaty it was up to Egypt, Israel, Jordan and the Palestinians "to decide on the ultimate state of

the West Bank and Gaza area."

President Carter noted that at their Camp David summit meeting in 1978 the U.S., Israel and Egypt had been very careful in "drafting language relating to the Palestinians' right to participate in the determination of their own future."

In a related matter, President Carter informed Egypt March 27 that Israel had agreed to improve the political conditions of Arabs in the West Bank and Gaza to encourage them to take part in negotiations on the autonomy plan. Among the measures to be taken: detention without trial would be ended, Palestinians living abroad would be allowed to be reunited with their families in occupied areas, political activity would be permitted and the Israeli military government would be less conspicuous.

"World Affairs", Facts on File, March 30, 1979.

TEACHING UNIT EVALUATION
BY TEACHERS

The attached evaluation questionnaires will help assess the worth of the teaching units in achieving the goals of Alberta social studies education, and provide data that will be useful in assessing the 1978 Alberta Social Studies Curriculum over a two-year period.

Teachers are requested to send the completed questionnaire to the Social Studies Consultants at the Regional Office of Alberta Education in their area.

Regional Offices are located at:

Grande Prairie Regional Office
Alberta Education
10014 - 99 Street
GRANDE PRAIRIE, Alberta
T8V 3N4

Edmonton Regional Office
Alberta Education
10053 - 111 Street
EDMONTON, Alberta
T5K 2H8

Calgary Regional Office
Alberta Education
615 MacLeod Trail, S.E.
CALGARY, Alberta
T2G 4T8

Red Deer Regional Office
Alberta Education
4th Floor
Royal Trust Building
4814 Ross Street
RED DEER, Alberta
T4N 1X4

Lethbridge Regional Office
Alberta Education
Provincial Building
200 - 5 Avenue, South
LETHBRIDGE, Alberta
T1J 4C7

TEACHING UNIT EVALUATION

BY TEACHERS

Part I: Identification Data

Title of Teaching Unit _____

Date of Evaluation _____

Number of Times Unit Was Taught _____

School Size _____

Years of Teaching Experience _____

Part II: Overall Evaluation of the Teaching Unit

A. Format, Process

For items 1-13, please rate the unit in terms of the following aspects, by circling the appropriate number on the right.

(Poor) 1 2 3 4 5 (Excellent)

- | | |
|---|-----------|
| 1. Appropriateness of teaching unit to level and ability of students. | 1 2 3 4 5 |
| 2. Clarity of directions and procedures. | 1 2 3 4 5 |
| 3. Adequacy of the treatment of subject matter. | 1 2 3 4 5 |
| 4. Production quality of prescribed resources. | 1 2 3 4 5 |
| 5. Integration of prescribed resources with print materials. | 1 2 3 4 5 |
| 6. Production quality of teaching unit. | 1 2 3 4 5 |
| 7. Appropriateness of length of the unit. | 1 2 3 4 5 |
| 8. Appropriateness of general format of the unit (layout). | 1 2 3 4 5 |

- | | | |
|-----|---|-----------|
| 9. | Opportunities for evaluation of students' progress in the unit. | 1 2 3 4 5 |
| 10. | Variety of teaching/learning activities. | 1 2 3 4 5 |
| 11. | Degree to which the unit captured the interest of students. | 1 2 3 4 5 |
| 12. | Clarity and suitability of objectives. | 1 2 3 4 5 |
| 13. | Overall evaluation of unit (materials, format and process). | 1 2 3 4 5 |

B. Relationship to Curriculum

Please state your view of the points in items 14-25 by circling the appropriate number on the right.

(very little) 1 2 3 4 5 (a great deal)

- | | | |
|-----|--|-----------|
| 14. | Extent to which the unit involved students in making decisions. | 1 2 3 4 5 |
| 15. | Degree to which a "balance of viewpoints" was presented in the unit. | 1 2 3 4 5 |
| 16. | Extent to which the unit helped students to see the role that values play in making decisions. | 1 2 3 4 5 |
| 17. | Extent to which students increased their sensitivity to their own value positions. | 1 2 3 4 5 |
| 18. | Extent to which the unit helped to clarify the Alberta Social Studies Curriculum to you as a teacher. | 1 2 3 4 5 |
| 19. | Extent to which the unit helped to develop inquiry and participation skills in students. | 1 2 3 4 5 |
| 20. | Extent to which the unit made you as a teacher more aware of ways to teach using an issue-centered approach. | 1 2 3 4 5 |

- | | | |
|-----|--|-----------|
| 21. | Extent to which the unit could act as a model for you to use in developing your courses in future. | 1 2 3 4 5 |
| 22. | Extent to which the unit served as an exemplary treatment of the topic in the curriculum. | 1 2 3 4 5 |
| 23. | Extent to which students became involved in action on decisions. | 1 2 3 4 5 |
| 24. | Extent to which the unit "process of inquiry" (awareness, focus on issue, research, decision, action) provided for a meaningful examination of a social issue. | 1 2 3 4 5 |
| 25. | Extent to which your view towards an inquiry approach has been made more positive (through using this unit). | 1 2 3 4 5 |

C. Written Comments

Please use this section to comment in detail on any points raised in the survey. We would be especially interested in knowing if the unit enabled you to teach the Alberta Social Studies Curriculum more effectively.

STUDENT EVALUATION OF
TEACHING UNIT

A. Instruction: For each of the following, circle the response which best represents your view.

Example:

My view of football (dislike it 1 2 3 4 5 (like it
is that I: very much) very much)

If you liked it very much, you would circle 5.

If you disliked it very much, you would circle 1.

If you disliked it somewhat more than you liked it,
you would circle 2.

1. I would say that (hard) 1 2 3 4 5 (easy)
this unit was:
2. This unit was: (very boring) 1 2 3 4 5 (very interesting)
3. This unit: (did not make me think) 1 2 3 4 5 (made me think a lot)
4. This unit was: (too short) 1 2 3 4 5 (too long)
5. In this unit (not enough discussion) 1 2 3 4 5 (too much discussion)
there was:
6. In this unit (not enough reading) 1 2 3 4 5 (too much reading)
there was:
7. In this unit (not enough group work) 1 2 3 4 5 (too much group work)
there was:
8. In this unit (not enough decisions) 1 2 3 4 5 (too many decisions)
I had:
9. In this unit I (very little) 1 2 3 4 5 (a great deal)
learned:

10. The prescribed resources in this unit were: (poor) 1 2 3 4 5 (excellent)
11. The written materials in this unit were: (poor) 1 2 3 4 5 (excellent)
12. We went through this unit: (too slowly) 1 2 3 4 5 (too quickly)
13. This unit had: (no variety) 1 2 3 4 5 (much variety)
14. This unit made me: (want to forget the topic) 1 2 3 4 5 (want to learn much more about it)
15. Looking back, I would say that I (did not enjoy unit at all) 1 2 3 4 5 (enjoyed it a great deal)

B. Please write your views on the following three items in the space provided.

1. What I liked most about this unit was:

2. What I liked least about this unit was:

3. The changes I would make in this unit are:

DATE DUE SLIP

APR 21 RETURN	DUE EDUC MAR 16 '83
RETURN OCT 14 '82	RETURN MAR 16 '83
RETURN OCT 14 '82	RETURN APR 15 '83
RETURN OCT 28 '82	DUE EDUC JUL 12 '83
RETURN OCT 28 '82	RETURN JUL 15 '83
RETURN OCT 29 '82	DUE EDUC AUG 2 '83
RETURN OCT 29 '82	DUE EDUC AUG 10 '83
RETURN NOV 12 '82	RETURN AUG 12 '83
RETURN NOV 22 '82	DUE EDUC OCT 6 '83
RETURN NOV 19 '82	RETURN SEP 30 '83
RETURN FEB 21 '83	DUE EDUC OCT 13 '83
RETURN MAR -1 '83	DUE EDUC OCT 20 '83
RETURN MAR 10 '83	RETURN OCT 17 '83
RETURN MAR 8 '83	DUE EDUC OCT 31 '83

APR 8 198

LB 1584-5 C2 S67 1979 GR-10-12
GR-12 TOP-B C-3
SOCIAL STUDIES TEACHING UNIT
PROJECT GR 10-12 /
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LB 1584.5 C2 S67 1979 gr.10-12
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Social studies teaching unit
project :
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